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No. 27 1955

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THE LAND SPECULATOR AND THE WEST — THE ROLE OF WILLIAM BLOUNT*

By W. H. Masterson

Investigations of the history of the West, whether it be the West of the eighteenth or twentieth centuries, have inevitably been concerned with the part played by land speculators. Particularly in our early history, in an economy whose principal asset was land, the game of speculation was played by Americans from the humblest to the highest in economic and political status. Today, however, the word "speculator" as applied to past figures often carries a connotation of personal wealth and public influence. An appraisal of such a leading speculator may therefore be illuminating in evaluating a class which has at the same time a sinister reputation and highly generalized characteristics.

William Blount, early Federalist, merchant, politician, governor, and man of affairs in North Carolina and Tennessee from the Revolution until his death in 1800, typifies in many respects the economic and political leadership of the early Southwest. From his profitable mercantile association as a silent partner in the firm of John Gray & Thomas Blount, Merchants, of Washington, North Carolina, and from considerable land holdings accumulated since childhood, Blount possessed economic resources beyond most of his contemporaries. At the same time, from his long political career in the North Carolina legislature, the Confederation Congress, the Convention of 1787, and later, as governor of the Southwest Territory, he possessed that political power and influence which were the goal of every speculator. Trained since his boyhood in the economic earthquake of the Revolution to a highly versatile and expedient method of operation, Blount dealt not only in the minute transactions of a country store but also in highly complicated currency speculations and in personal domains of millions of acres of land both in North Carolina and in the trans-montane West. His figure looms large in the economic and political history of the old Southwest, and no one has left a larger or a more tortuous record of land transactions from tens to millions of acres. Blount is, therefore, the archetype of the "powerful speculators" of our history, and the nature of his character and his significance as such a figure is of importance in any study of the economics of his day, and indeed of the history of the western movement. What manner of man, therefore, was he, and what is his import in the stream of our national life?

In the first place Blount was of the gentry. By instinct and tidewater environment his attitude toward the common man was a mixture of distrust and condescension. In anger or disgust the epithet "peasant" was frequent-

*An address delivered at a meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society at the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, October 9, 1954.

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ly on his lips. The well known Turnerian thesis of the western origin of American democracy he would have both scorned and summarily denied. On the other hand, he also possessed more affirmative characteristics of the class to which he belonged, including a strong sense of family, a conscious effort to be informed on public affairs, and a comprehension of the necessity and nature of the leadership of society.

In the second place, Blount was ambitious. He liked office for power and prestige as well as for the salary which it brought. His aspirations to wealth were typically American, and his family ambition was for wealthy and educated sons and advantageously married daughters. While he worked behind the scenes and often deviously, he never wavered in the steady pursuit of family and personal "interest."

Blount's character was a curious mixture of imperiousness and shrewdness. Letters, even to his brother, included more commands than requests. His control of James Robertson in Middle Tennessee was complete, and even his relations with the popular John Sevier in East Tennessee contained as much dominance as the fiery Indian fighter would accept. Blount was a good hater. He cherished animosities and reacted strongly to disapproval by others; but at the same time his ability to estimate character, his quick grasp of complicated situations, and his mastery of the art of insinuation and suggestion covered his more elementary feelings with a polish that contributed to his effective control.

Finally, Blount became imbued with a love of the western country. In his early years he felt the easterner's distrust of the somewhat turbulent population on the "western waters," but personal association in time produced in him an affection for the western country beyond mere economic interest. It was not easy in 1793 for an easterner to penetrate the crudities and violences of western life even in more civilized settlements such as Knoxville, but in three years from his appointment as territorial governor his assimilation of western sentiment was complete, and from then until his death the economic and political fortunes of the West were foremost in his thinking. The western support which he received after his eastern downfall in 1797 he reciprocated with an attachment second only to that manifested towards his family.

Such, then, were the personal attributes of an important big scale operator of the eighteenth century: anti-democratic outlook, ambition, imperiousness, pride, and a transcending sentiment for the area of his operations. But his personality, while perhaps characteristic of many of his fellow businessmen, is less important than the part he and men of his kind played in our national history.

This part has been roughly handled by historians, for since the decade of the last great depression a particularly disparaging connotation has been attached to the term "speculator." More than one able work produced in that period disregards the speculative nature of all American business in the eighteenth century to attack particular groups such as those who belatedly and for profit invested in the currency of the Confederation, or bought vast empires for future sale. These indictments imply that such men were traffickers in human misfortune and manipulators of the economic and political events with a view to selfish advantage as opposed to the common welfare. The most virulent of these charges, moreover, have been reserved for speculators in land, and in such otherwise able books as Thomas Abernethy's *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee,* published in 1932, the land speculator has become the villain of the piece.

Such sweeping condemnation is a violation of historical perspective as well as a distortion of ethical judgments, and is one of the many minor preconceptions which needs reappraisal for the sake of good historical research and writing. Land speculation in the eighteenth century was the inevitable consequence of an economy characterized by an over-abundance of land and a critical lack of almost every other form of capital. Land, particularly in the South and Southwest, was the one overwhelming resource in an agrarian world. That the businessman of the day, whether a small or large operator, should deal in futures in this commodity was as inevitable and as necessary as economic life itself. As for the particular charge, whether stated or implied, that such speculators engrossed the available or at least the choicest areas to the detriment of the poorer (and, therefore, somehow more honest) citizenry, this indictment is similarly dubious. In the earliest years of the seventeenth century, when the newly-founded settlements, ignorant of the geography of America, clung perilously to the seacoast, surrounded by overwhelming forests and aggressive Indians, engrossment was no doubt possible. It is seriously doubtful, however, that from the time that American settlement reached the Blue Ridge until the "closing" of the last frontier two generations ago, any significant body of Americans was ever kept from acquiring land by the activities of speculators. It is true that complaints have come down to us attacking speculators, just as similar complaints have denounced luxuries, business corporations, politicians, and the public activities of women; but in historical perspective it is pertinent to ask whether too much emphasis has not been placed by a perhaps increasingly socially conscious guild of historians on such contemporary complaints against the large scale operators of other days.

Moreover, William Blount and his fellow speculators have far more to be said for them than this. The fact is that while few made fortunes in the business, yet large scale speculators were essential to the development of

the American West. It needs to be remembered that until the middle of the nineteenth century the great American continent was for *sale*. Gifts of land were made in payment of military service or in recognition of notable contribution by individuals, but the greater part of the American West before the Civil War was planned to be disposed of in a *market*. It is true that thousands of westerners acquired land merely by "squatters' rights" or by military title, yet thousands more purchased titles, and the knowledge that land was available for sale was always in a prospective westerner's mind both before he started his western trek and after he arrived. Moreover, the means of utilizing these offers of land were not always possessed by the average immigrant homesteader. Costs of travel, seed, tools, stock, and other incidentals to a western migration were not readily available to the majority of homeseekers. It was through the credit of such men as Blount, extended to the purchaser not only for the acreage but for the many incidental costs, that development was possible.

Above all, the speculators did not appeal merely to prospective purchasers of their own land. Greater total western population was their aim, for civilization raised land values. Families, homesteaders, people — by twos and threes and by hundreds — were therefore the unchanging goal of speculators, and the encouragement of western migration which was the speculator's aim was likewise his contribution to American history. It was he who tirelessly advertised and propagandized the West, who drew and published maps, who had roads built, and who was largely instrumental in the removal, by one means or another, of the Indians. The white settlements, once made, still required interested speculators, who became the essential source of capital on the capital-less frontier, and who by the use of their established credit lines to eastern capital not only promoted western movement but nurtured it to maturity after its settlement.

Again, Blount and his fellow speculators were not only the economic but also the political godfathers of their areas of interest. As a natural concomitant of their prominence and importance in the community they usually moved into the government either in the legislative or executive divisions. Here, whatever their democratic or anti-democratic sentiments, the big businessmen by their participation gave stability to the new governments and institutions of the West. They drew eastern interest like eastern capital westward, because it was to their advantage to do so. Likewise, as in the case of Andrew Jackson, they forced national attention to western interest and represented western thought in eastern councils.

It is in this very area of politics, however, that the large scale operators have received their fiercest blows from historians. Under the influence of twentieth century political thought, more than one writer has interpreted eighteenth century history in terms of a sort of class warfare, and inevitably

to the detriment of the speculator. This is done by an easy geo-political terminology which runs something like this: pine trees = barren land = poor white = democratic aspirations; whereas river bottoms = rich soil = rich planter = aristocrat. Since most speculators with a view to future sale were seldom interested in poor lands, they are inevitably found, in this handy classification system, against the side of democracy, and thus they have incurred the full wrath of more than one historian in recent years. Equally simple and equally fallacious is the citation of phrases from western state constitutions to develop whole theories of western democracy, although the most casual student of American history must acknowledge the elasticity and ambiguity in practice of such phrases. The real politicians, including (but not entirely consisting of) speculators, were not interested in such questions as who and how many citizens could vote, but rather who could control the vote. Their concern was less over qualifications for office than over personalities in office. They, to the confusion of their supposed anti-democratic reputation, were usually stout champions of bills of rights In short, they were less interested in traditional phrases drawn from the long stream of English constitutionalism than they were in the local situations and personalities which determined political allegiance. A state constitution was almost always drawn up in a Committee of the Whole House, that useful English procedure by which anonymity clothes deliberations. In the final report of this committee the handiwork of interested groups can often be detected, but to fabricate theories of western democracy and to condemn groups of people on such evidence is tenuous argument indeed. There was political interest in the eighteenth century West but it was not, political oratory to the contrary, a class interest, and the real role of the speculator as democratic or undemocatic needs far more solid and extensive examination than the loose generalizations it has received.

This is not to say that Blount and his fellow speculators in politics were paragons of virtue. Like men before and since (including men of all-sized operations) they participated in shady transactions. Some stole public funds and otherwise used government position for private gain. To prove, however, that the speculator or large scale operator as a class in government was more venal, more antagonistic to the public good, or anti-democatic (in the eighteenth and nineteenth century meaning of that word) is another matter and an unproved thesis.

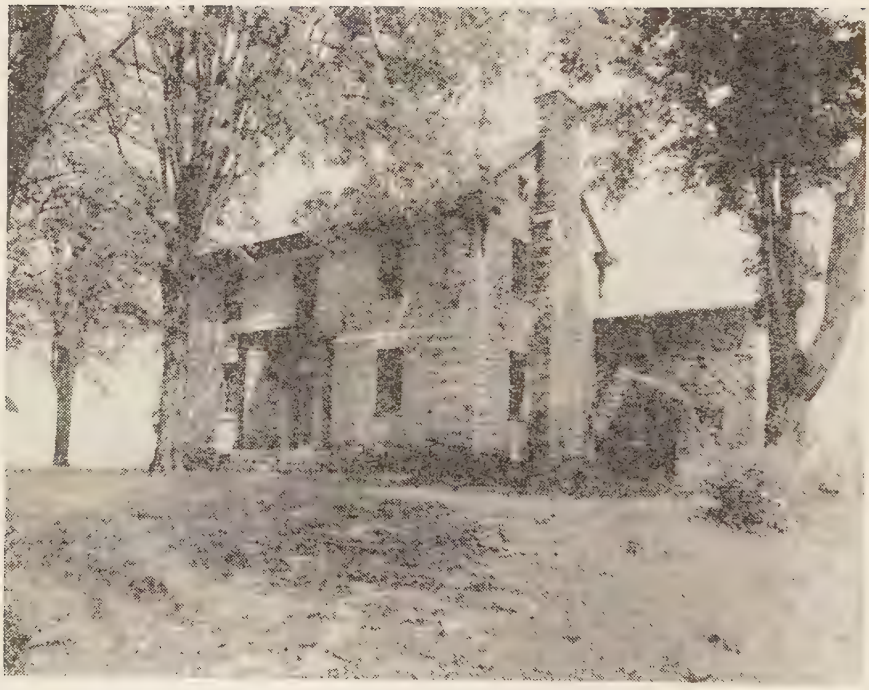
The true significance of William Blount, and indeed of the whole class of large scale businessmen of which he was a prototype can best be illustrated in the most spectacular effort of his career, namely, the Blount conspiracy. This plan, in essence a gigantic speculation, had its origins in the nature of the America of 1797. It was an America in which Memphis, Natchez, and Louisville were far, peripheral outposts. It was an America in

which congressmen were but recently referred to as ambassadors, an America in which nationalism was weak and localism strong. It was an America in which the trans-Allegheny West, thwarted by the northward bend of the Tennessee River and by the Spanish possession of Florida and Louisiana, sought desperately for an outlet for their products and an economic system beyond the whims of geography or the Spaniard. Blount's conspiracy was an attempt to answer this demand. Ten years later Aaron Burr might dream of a trans-Mississippi empire and the silver mines of Mexico, but in 1797 Blount was thinking of New Orleans, Pensacola, and the Gulf connections of the Tombigbee and the Alabama rivers.

Blount's plan never developed. A drunkard babbled, and the sharp acerbities of the slowly-forming national political scene took over, while ambitious local rivals, such as David Campbell and John Tipton, urged on Blount's prosecutors. The hindsight of history has revealed the plan's weaknesses. The British have ever encouraged favorable filibusters without materially assisting them. The western frontiersman talked loudly of but seldom marched for grandiose projects. Blount's problems of logistics and supplies were enormous. It is more than doubtful, therefore, that the plan could ever have worked, and its immediate significance lies not in its threat to the Union but as a growing pain of the new republic.

More important, however, the conspiracy and its failure illustrate the contribution of speculators to our history. Blount, motivated not by equalitarianism but by honest American ambition, was one of those who had spread America westward through his economic activities and solidified the American nation by his western political leadership. The West did not make Blount in its image. He brought eastern values, eastern nationalism, and eastern institutions across the mountains, but there he added to eastern America the reagent of western thought. He, and every settler's household which followed his road to the West, expanded an eastern seaboard experiment into a national democracy. The result was such strength that even his own filibuster broke against it. As a nationalist, he built so well that later as a separatist he failed. The people of the United States, including the West, followed not Blount, and later not Burr, but the national administration, and in time events eliminated the western separatist threat.

Blount's supreme significance, then, like that of hundreds of his contemporaries and thousands of his successors, was as a builder and developer. His contributions both as a private citizen and a public official were enormous. Not in theoretical equalitarianism nor in class warfare but in practical economic and political ambition and service he worked for both himself and his country. His values and his aims, like those of his fellow speculators, live today, and of him, as do Englishmen of another builder, Tennesseans may well say, "If you would see his monument, look around."



"Swan Pond": Francis Ramsey's Stone House

SWAN POND: FRANCIS ALEXANDER RAMSEY'S STONE HOUSE, A TENNESSEE STATE SHRINE

By Elizabeth Scaggs Bowman

This ancient two-story stone house, a well preserved link with Tennessee's early settlement, stands conspicuously upright and quaintly tall six miles east of Knoxville on the Old Thorn Grove Pike near the Knox County communities of Asbury and Riverdale. It was erected in 1797 for Francis Alexander Ramsey, a pioneer citizen and public official on the Tennessee frontier for thirty-seven years. He was the father of the distinguished historian, Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, and of Knoxville's first elected mayor, W. B. A. Ramsey.

Although obscured from it by a small ridge, the site of Swan Pond is only a short distance, as the crow flies, from the junction of the Holston and French Broad rivers, a place rich in historical facts and legends, many of them centered in Gilliam's Station and the Lebanon-in-the-Fork Presbyterian Church, which was erected on land donated by Francis A. Ramsey.[1] Facing south, the old house is located on a tree-covered knoll that was once a peninsula jutting out into a body of water frequented by wild ducks, geese, and swan—hence the name, although the pond was drained before the house was built.[2] Its pointed gables, ornamented cornices, antique chimneys, and long, narrow, small-paned windows speak eloquently of by-gone days and make it easy to believe that the house equals in antiquity Tennessee itself, which became a state in 1796.

The first stone house in Knox County, and an excellent example of the finer homes that replaced the log cabins in the latter part of the eighteenth century,[3] few of which have survived the ravages of time, "Swan Pond" has long been considered by the historically minded to be eminently worthy of restoration and preservation as a monument to an era and to the courageous citizens like the Ramseys who braved the wilderness to found Tennessee. Nothing, however, was done to save the old house for posterity until 1952, when the recently-formed Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities proposed making this eighteenth century "mansion" its first project, if the state and local governments would donate the money for its

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[1]W. B. Hesseltine (ed.), *Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey: Autobiography and Letters* (Nashville, 1954), 15; J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Charleston, 1853), 372, 274, 716; J. G. M. Ramsey, *History of the Lebanon Presbyterian Church* (Knoxville, 1918), 1-5; Knox County Deed Book (Knox County Courthouse), S I, 404-05.

[2]Ramsey, *Lebanon Church*, 18.

[3]W. F. Rogers, "Life in East Tennessee Near End of Eighteenth Century," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 1 (1929), 30. No record of any earlier stone house in the region was found by Mr. Rogers.

purchase. The Association acquired from the owner, Mr. Sam Kreis, an option on the house and one acre of ground for eight thousand dollars, to expire on May 10, 1952; it then induced the Knoxville city council and the Knox County court each to donate two thousand dollars, provided the state would give the remaining four thousand needed to take up the option. After the State Historical Commission had investigated and approved the project, Governor Gordon Browning allocated from his discretionary funds the needed four thousand dollars and personally brought the check to Knoxville to meet the option deadline. Since June, 1952, when the title was vested in the State Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities, the Association has been engaged in renovating the building and in developing plans for its preservation.[4]

Although basically sound and standing firmly on its foundation, Swan Pond had been long neglected.[5] A new roof was the first necessity, and the replacing of windows throughout was the second. Some plaster and the kitchen floor had to be replaced. But the stability of the structure as a whole, after standing for more than a century and a half, spoke well for the skill of London-trained Thomas Hope, Knoxville's first professional architect, who did his initial work in this area at Swan Pond.[6]

The main part of the house is a rectangle 42 by 24 feet; in addition to its two stories, both very high, it has a deep basement and an attic. The kitchen wing, without basement or attic, is on a lower floor level, with three steps leading down to it from the dining-room. The main walls throughout are of rough irregular blocks of pink marble, while the corners of the house, the arches above the windows, the corners of the three chimneys, and one row of blocks midway between the ground and the roof are of a greyish white fieldstone, giving design and variety to the masonry that is most effective. The hand-carved cornices and the ornamental corners are of wood and were originally "painted to resemble stone," probably the greyish white of the "blue" fieldstone that forms the decorative part of the masonry. At the corners, or quoins, these large contrasting stones, set at fairly regular intervals, help to give the feeling of strength and stability that is one of the inherent charms of the venerable structure.[7] Nine wedge-shaped rocks

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[4]*Knoxville Journal*, February 12, May 3, 8, 1952; *Chattanooga Times*, February 15, 1953. Among the public spirited citizens who took the lead in promoting this project were Mrs. Thomas Berry, chairman of A P T A for upper East Tennessee, and Mrs. W. N. Garrett, president of the Knox County chapter. Money is raised by the Association for this and other similar projects by the local chapters' sponsoring annual tours to historic buildings and other places of historic interest.

[5]See poem lamenting the sad condition of Swan Pond in 1870 in Hesseltine (ed.), *Ramsey*, 11.

[6]*Ibid.*, 9.

[7]*Ibid.*

of fieldstone, diminishing in size from the center, form a decorative arch over the narrow windows, the keystone being larger and more protruding than any of the others. This prominence of the center stone of an arch is unusual in early architecture according to Charles Barber, distinguished Knoxville architect.

Huge exterior, single-hipped chimneys, quaintly narrowing toward the top, mark the gable ends of Swan Pond, and an even more massive one is found at the east end of the kitchen wing, providing in all six fireplaces. A hand-paneled double front door, with delicately leaded fanlight above it, opens into a spacious entrance hall, approximately ten feet in width, that bisects the first floor and ends in another, less elaborate, double door. On either side of the hall is a large room with high ceiling, each well lighted by three windows. The two main bed rooms on the second floor are of similar construction. The windows on both floors, cleverly cut to flair inward, are set with eighteen-inch reveals or jams, and faced with hand-carved panels of simple design that match the hand-carved doors. The facings of the downstairs windows are stout blinds that fit into neat pockets when not in use, such blinds being a protection against both marauders and the cold in rugged pioneer days.

The large room to the right of the front entrance was probably the dining-room, since steps lead down from it to the one with the mammoth fireplace so common in the day when all cooking was done over the open fire even in the most pretentious homes. A closed easy stairway leads from the kitchen to a room above it that is entirely separate from the rest of the upstairs.

The large room to the left of the front entrance was perhaps the parlor or library. Probably here was placed the tall and elegant secretary and bookcase that Dr. Ramsey tells us was carved by Thomas Hope for his father's extensive library.[8] The main stairway rises a little to the left of the wide entrance hall and is outlined with a delicate walnut handrail that begins in a graceful scroll or whorl.[9] Some of the delicately slender spindles were missing and had to be replaced with copies. Restored, the stairway duplicates a drawing in a book on architecture once owned by Thomas Hope.[10]

A small paneled door at the turn of the stairway leads to a hidden straight-up attic stairs with treads so narrow it is almost impossible to

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[8]*Ibid.* More than one hundred books are listed in the inventory of F. A. Ramsey's estate. Knox County Estate Book (Knox County Courthouse), No. 3, p. 250.

[9]More than half of the lower part of the rail was missing when the house was bought for restoration, but it had been preserved by Miss Edith Watson of Fountain City.

[10]This book is now in the possession of Albert G. Hope, Knoxville, Tennessee.

mount to the large unfinished garret. Portholes furnish surprisingly good light and the colossal timbers that support the rafters and roof, handhewn and fitted together tongue and groove, repay the effort it takes to see them.

On the second floor, in addition to the two large rooms that duplicate the two below them, there is a small room near the head of the steps. This room, although it occupies much of the upstairs hall, has no windows, only a door in the south wall. Though definitely part of the original house, this door inexplicably opens to outer space directly over the front entrance. This gives rise to the question: Did this upstairs door lead to a second-floor porch? Most old houses with outside doors on the second floor had such porches. When the stone house was bought for restoration it had no porch, but, as a part of the restoration, a small portico with columns has been added, and a protective iron railing has been placed before the door. To many people this arrangement seems inadequate, and it is hoped that more study will be made of the subject as restoration progresses.

A picture of Swan Pond made in 1892 shows a porch that extended a foot or a little more beyond the lower front windows, but it is not believed that this was the original porch.[11] In the 1892 picture there is also a small porch at the front entrance to the kitchen wing; a former resident says that an ell-shaped porch at the back of the house had been made into a dining-room when he lived there around 1900. In his rather detailed description of his father's house, Dr. Ramsey does not mention porches.[12] And so far no old record of this feature of the house has been found. Being built of wood rather than of stone, the porches were probably repaired and remodeled by various owners, for the old house changed hands many times through the years, and four times while it was still owned by the Ramseys.

When Francis Alexander Ramsey died in 1820 Swan Pond became the property of his son William B. A. Ramsey as his distributive share of his father's estate.[13] William B. A. sold it to his brother James G. M. in 1840.[14] James G. M. sold it to his son Francis A. Ramsey in 1857.[15] Francis had married Miss Nancy Presley of South Carolina that year and they spent their honeymoon there.[16] They lived there until the Civil War when he took his family to South Carolina for safety, and sold Swan Pond to William C.

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[11] *Knoxville Journal*, April 24, 1953.
[12] Hesseltine (ed.), *Ramsey*, 9-10.
[13] *Ibid.*, 10.
[14] Knox County Deed Book, D II, 306.
[15] *Ibid.*, W II, 503. This deed says he "bequeathed him 225 Acres, Swan Pond Place, for the love I bear him and $3000.00." See also Hesseltine (ed.) *Ramsey*, 137.
[16] Ramsey Family MS. (in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee).

Spurgien in 1866.[17] From the time the pioneer Francis A. Ramsey had acquired this frontier land in 1786 until it was sold out of the family by his namesake grandson in 1866, Swan Pond had been in the possession of the Ramsey family for eighty years; so it is easily understood why the name "Ramsey House" is often used to designate this family residence rather than the older and more historic name "Swan Pond."

Since the venerable structure is being preserved as a state shrine to commemorate early days in Tennessee, the plan is to restore it as authentically as possible to the period when it was the home of the pioneer Ramsey. The task will be greatly aided by the complete list of his possessions discovered in Knox County Estate Book No. 3, copies of which are on file in the McClung Room of Lawson McGhee Library. Because a house reflects to some extent the personality of the person whose realized dream it is, Swan Pond can be best interpreted with some knowledge of Francis Alexander Ramsey and his ideals.

Francis arrived on North Carolina's western frontier in 1783 from near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where he was born on May 31, 1764. He was the son of Reynolds Ramsey and Naomi Alexander who had settled there soon after their marriage in 1761. John Alexander, Francis Ramsey's maternal uncle, had settled on Big Limestone Creek in what is now upper East Tennessee and it was at his invitation that Francis mounted his horse and rode the five hundred miles to his uncle's house where he lived at first. At the time of his arrival he was only nineteen years old and his only material assets were his horse and his surveyor's chain and compass, but he had courage, a strong Scotch-Irish Presbyterian faith, and a better than average education for the time. He could write well and knew something of geometry and trigonometry and had studied surveying.[18]

Many settlers were entering land claims and surveyors were in demand on the frontier. In August of 1783 Ramsey, James White, James Conner, Robert Love, Alexander McMillan and others, as a result of North Carolina's "Land Grab Act" of that year, explored the French Broad River to its junction with the Holston, and on down the Tennessee River to its junction with the Little Tennessee. They were seeking good locations for entry in this unexplored wilderness. White liked the area where he later founded Knoxville, but Ramsey preferred the land near the junction of the French Broad and Holston, and determined to enter it with the hope of making it his future home.[19]

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[17]Knox County Deed Book, D II, 360.
[18]Hesseltine (ed.), *Ramsey*, 2, 6-7.
[19]S. J. Folmsbee and Lucile Deaderick, "The Founding of Knoxville," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 13 (1941), 3-7.

However, several years were to elapse before he was to realize that ambition. In October of 1783 he entered four hundred acres of land on Big and Little Limestone creeks.[20] In November, although a newcomer and a minor, he was appointed county surveyor by the Washington County court.[21] The next year he was busy surveying and entering claims. In 1785 the convention which assembled at Jonesboro to adopt a constitution for the proposed state of Franklin chose Francis A. Ramsey as secretary—a tribute to his integrity, education, and excellent penmanship. He became a member of the new state's council and its turbulent affairs took much of his time, but on November 1, 1786, he got around to obtaining grants for the land he had entered following his memorable trip in 1783. North Carolina Grant No. 109 (at ten pounds per 100 acres) calls for "200 acres in Greene County upon a water of the Holston, including the Swan Pond." Grant No. 110 reads "300 acres in Greene County adjoining his other survey including the Swan Pond."[22]

Although there is no pond there now and of course no swans, the use of the name Swan Pond in these early grants denotes its antiquity. For countless years before Ramsey and his friends visited the place in 1783, Cherokee Indians had spent the hunting season there, as is revealed by an ancient burial mound near the fork. Dr. Ramsey, in his *Autobiography,* says that for more than a hundred years Spanish and French traders, from their posts above and below Muscle Shoals, had beached their canoes at the fork and followed well-worn paths, still visible in the autobiographer's boyhood, to the place known as Swan Pond. Here, as the result of a large beaver-constructed dam across some small streams, was a crystal clear lake, many acres wide and varying in depth from one to six feet where wild ducks and geese and swans and colonies of beavers collected in great numbers. It was a hunter's and trapper's paradise and a gold mine for traders seeking furs and feathers.[23]

Ramsey's occupation of the Swan Pond site was delayed because the Cherokee Indians were still hostile and still claimed title to the region. He was also occupied for some time with the affairs of the state of Franklin. In 1788, when many people of the new state wished to return to their allegiance to North Carolina, Ramsey was chosen as one of the delegates to

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[20]Greene County Deed Book (Greene County Courthouse, Greeneville), 9, pp. 206-08.

[21]Biographical sketch of Francis A. Ramsey in Mary U. Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country* (Knoxville, 1946), 467-68.

[22]Washington County Deed Book (Washington County Courthouse, Jonesboro), I, 48-49. See also original survey of these grants on file in the Secretary of State's Office, Raleigh, N. C. (photostatic copies in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library).

[23]Hesseltine (ed.), *Ramsey,* 10n; Ramsey, *Lebanon Church,* 18.

make peace with the mother state. In passing back and forth to the seat of government he met, in Mecklenburg County, a distant cousin, lovely Peggy Alexander, daughter of John McKnitt Alexander, a signer of the famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The young couple were married on April 7, 1789, and soon afterward settled on the young husband's 400-acre grant on Little Limestone. One wedding gift from Peggy's distinguished father was a handsome chair made in London before 1773 and bought in 1774 by J. McKnitt Alexander while a member of the provincial legislature of North Carolina. It was later such a prized possession of their son, Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, that in 1879 he spoke of it in a letter to Lyman Draper, the historian. Another cherished article mentioned in the letter was the wedding shoes of the bride—his mother. He described them as "an exceedingly antique and queenly article of dress."[24] At that period, special occasion and Sunday-go-to-meeting shoes had heels two or more inches high that were made of wood neatly covered with leather.[25]

Francis and Peggy Ramsey were both ardent Presbyterians and were members of the Rev. Samuel Doak's Salem congregation. A son born March 26, 1791, was christened at Salem, William Baine Alexander, the Rev. Doak officiating.[26]

Although the young father had been on this western frontier a mere eight years, and was only a youthful twenty-seven, his days had been full of achievement and mature living. He had served his adopted community in civil, military, and diplomatic capacities, participated in its religious life, founded a family, and had acquired an estate of more than two thousand acres of excellent land, as grants and deeds in Greene and Washington counties show.

He had been a part of many political changes in his community. He had served as surveyor and clerk of Washington County when it was a neglected frontier of North Carolina. When it became a part of the bold state of Franklin, he served on occasion as clerk of the superior court and as a member of the council. After the new state had collapsed and Washington County was again under the government of North Carolina, Ramsey was appointed court clerk and second major of cavalry. In these two offices he served until North Carolina ceded her western lands to the federal government, and the region was organized into the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio with William Blount as governor. Blount

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[24]Hesseltine (ed.), *Ramsey*, 8, 318.

[25]Rogers, "Life in East Tennessee," *loc. cit.*, 31.

[26]Hesseltine (ed.), *Ramsey*, 8. Peggy's mother was Jane Baine of Pennsylvania.

appointed Ramsey clerk of the superior court and first major of cavalry of Washington District in the new territory.[27]

Knox and Jefferson counties were cut off from Greene and Hawkins in 1792. The next year Blount formed them into the new judicial district of Hamilton. [28] Ramsey was made clerk of the superior court of this district, and as a result of this appointment he decided to change his residence to Knox County.[29] Of his choice for a home site, his son Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey had this to say in his *Autobiography*:

> My father had made several most eligible locations of land in this [Knox] county. But on several accounts the Swan Pond was the most desirable place for a residence. It had the nucleus of a Presbyterian congregation—the uplands were exceedingly fertile, with a good proportion of lowlands suitable for cultivation, and a lake averaging four or five feet in depth spread its expanse south of a peninsula sufficiently large for a yard and grounds around the site of the building and also for a large garden and orchard. On this peninsula he determined to erect a mansion for a home.[30]

Dr. Ramsey tells us also that his father at first erected a temporary house of hewn logs a little to the east and rear of the site he had selected for his family mansion. It was twenty feet by twenty feet, one story high, with a stone chimney in one corner and covered with lap shingles. He added, "In this cabin I was born March 25, 1797."[31] While the original log house is no more, one very similar to it stands in approximately the same place. It is reconstructed of ancient logs that were hand-hewn and grooved with the broad axe. It originally stood on Brown's Gap Road in Knox County and was the pioneer home of Lieut. Peter Brown. It was moved to its present site in the summer of 1954.[32]

The date when Francis A. Ramsey moved his family into the log house he had constructed is not known exactly, but we are told that John McKnitt Alexander Ramsey was born May 2, 1793, "probably at this place." A third son, Samuel Reynolds, was born August 9, 1795. In the meantime the father, when court was not in session at Knoxville, had devoted himself to the de-

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[27]C. E. Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers of the United States, IV, The Southwest Territory* (Washington, 1936), 437-38, 438n.

[28]*Ibid.*, 453-54.

[29]Hesseltine (ed.), *Ramsey*, 8.

[30]*Ibid.*

[31]*Ibid.*, 9.

[32]It was donated to the Swan Pond shrine by C. B. and C. F. Irwin of Hall's Cross Roads as a memorial to their mother, the late Lawson Brown Irwin, the great-granddaughter of a Lieutenant Brown who had called the cabin "home" some time in the distant past. With some additions, the cabin is to be the residence of Swan Pond's caretaker. The Knox County court donated $900.00 to help restore and equip it. *Knoxville Journal*, July 30, 1954.

velopment of his large and picturesque property. With the increase in his family he had begun to fear that such an expanse of water on three sides of his home might endanger the health of his children, and so he made plans to cut through the beaver dam and drain the lake.

Four feet high in the middle, the dam gradually diminished toward the uplands. It was constructed of logs and tightly packed with mud—the beavers, using their teeth for saws and their tails for trowels, had not spared their labors. To break through the mass of timbers was a formidable undertaking, but we have seen that Francis Ramsey was not one who could be easily daunted. Finally, a wide ditch was cut from north to south transversely to the dam, and the water drained away. All the beavers and all the swans and all their water-loving friends disappeared; the lake became a meadow, and the dam was almost obliterated. So ended the old days at Swan Pond, and nothing is left but the not-of-this-age name to remind us of them. "It was after this, in 1796 and 1797, the stone house was built," we are told in Dr. Ramsey's history of the Lebanon church. With green meadows surrounding his long-chosen mansion site, "Colonel" Ramsey engaged the previously-mentioned architect, Thomas Hope, and it was he who designed the building and superintended its construction.[33]

An article by Dr. J. M. Kennedy, a son-in-law of the historian J. G. M. Ramsey, says Colonel Ramsey used his Conestoga wagon, the only one in the community, and a team of six horses to haul the large building stones to the site of his construction activities.[34] Francis Ramsey's choice of stone as his building material may have been due, like his possession of a Conestoga wagon, to his Pennsylvania background where such wagons originated and where stone houses were common early in the history of the state. Or he may have been influenced by several large stone houses, still standing in the vicinity of Limestone, that had been built while Ramsey was a resident in that area.[35] Or the deciding factor may have been the large deposits of marble and other suitable building stones at Swan Pond. Be this as it may, it was due to the choice of such indestructible material that the house stands today,

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[33]Ramsey, *Lebanon Church*, 17-19. The title of "colonel" was used in many historical accounts of Francis A. Ramsey, but the records examined indicate that it was of honorary rather than military origin.

[34]*Knoxville Journal*, June 7, 1931.

[35]*The Embree House* near Telford which, according to the historical marker, was "built 1791" for Thomas Embree by Seth Smith, a Pennsylvania stone mason. *The Gillespie House* at Limestone built in 1792 by Seth Smith for George Gillespie—now known as the *Klepper House*. Jacob Klepper bought it in 1842 and remodeled it. Before it was remodeled its appearance was much like that of Ramsey House—a picture is in the courthouse at Limestone. *The Ripley House*, built 1793—a few miles from Chucky, in upper East Tennessee.

a well-preserved monument to Tennessee's industrious and fearless pioneers. The Rev. Charles Coffin, writing in his "Journal" in 1801 of a visit to Swan Pond, said:

> About noon we sat [*sic*] out for Col. Ramsey's, where we were cordially received. This gentleman and his lady are remarkable for their piety. He came into the state and began business poor, but is now wealthy. He lives in a large handsome two-storied stone house, the product of his industry. Religion is his favorite topic, and equally so with his wife. She has an eye which perhaps I have never seen excelled. It is black, full, significant & mild. Pleasant.
>
> Col. R. & myself rhode [*sic*] into Knoxville a.m. I preached to about 200 people in the courthouse from Psalm 119.165. The subscriptions to my proposals amounted here alone to 70 or more. We rhode back in the evening and had sermon in Col. R's house.[36]

The builder and owner of Swan Pond, Francis A. Ramsey, remained a respected citizen of the community and continued to reside in the stone house until his death on November 5, 1820. In addition to being an ardent Presbyterian, he was "a steady patron of schools and learning in the neighborhood." To make up for the lack of schoolteachers on the frontier he imported from the East educated young men to work in his office and serve as tutors of his children.[37] He was selected in 1794 as one of the original trustees of Blount College, the future University of Tennessee, and in 1803 he was partly instrumental in saving the institution from the danger of extinction.[38] Throughout the thirty-seven years of his residence in frontier Tennessee he was never without some public office. At the time of his death he had just been appointed president of the Knoxville branch of the new state bank which had just been created.[39] The making of Swan Pond into a state shrine is a well-deserved tribute to Tennessee's pioneers who are well represented by the Ramsey family.

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[36]Journal of Dr. Charles Coffin, 1800-1822 (typed copy from the original, both of which are in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library), 19-20. This quotation bears out Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey's statement that the stone house was a "house of prayer and of praise." Hesseltine (ed.), *Ramsey*, 10.

[37]*Ibid.*, 13, 15.

[38]S. J. Folmsbee, "Blount College and East Tennessee College, 1794-1840," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 17 (1945), 26.

[39]Hesseltine (ed.), *Ramsey*, 15.

JONESBORO'S CHESTER INN

By Paul M. Fink

In the decades immediately following its founding in 1780, Jonesboro, as the first and for a time the only town west of the mountains and as the county seat of Washington County and the judicial capital of all the vast scope of country that later was to become Tennessee, was a center of great importance. Frontiersmen on their rare visits to town, lawyers in attendance at the sessions of the several courts, militiamen on guard duty against the Indians — all tarried for a time in the embryonic town. Frontier hospitality, which never refused shelter to a wayfarer so long as shelter remained, sufficed for a little while, but the increasing demands were too great for the limited private facilities available. Soon some of the residents of the town began to entertain visitors on a commercial basis.

North Carolina laws, having jurisdiction over the region, required all persons keeping an "ordinary or house of entertainment" to make application to the court of pleas and quarter sessions of the county for a license and, if the request were granted, to execute a bond to "constantly find and provide, in his or her said ordinary, good, clean and wholesome diet and lodging for travellers, and stable, corn, fodder and pasturage for their horses. . . ."[1] The terms "ordinary," "tavern," and "inn" seem to have been synonymous.

Pursuant to this ordinance, the Washington County court in 1871 granted licenses to three men to open taverns:

> Ord. that James Allison have leave to keep a Tavern at the Courthouse for one year and have entered John Sevier and Valentine Sevier his securities for his performance of the same.
>
> Ord. that Isaiah Hamilton have leave to Keep a Tavern at his house for one year and have entered himself with Valentine Sevier and James Allison his securities for his performance of the same.
>
> Ord. that Richard Minton have leave to keep a Tavern at the Courthouse for one year and have entered Jacob Brown and Dan'l Williams his securities for his performance of the same.[2]

These were the first licensed places of public entertainment in transmontane North Carolina. It will be noted that the location given was "at the Courthouse." Though Jonesboro had been chartered and laid off more

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[1]John Haywood and Robert L. Cobbs, *The Statute Laws of the State of Tennessee, of a Public and General Nature,* 2 vols. (Knoxville, 1831), I, 236. The requirements cited are from an ordinance of the North Carolina assembly in 1799, continued in effect in Tennessee upon the creation of that state.

[2]Minutes of Washington County Court (Washington County Courthouse, Jonesboro, Tenn.), May 28, 1781.

than a year, it was still generally referred to as "the place appointed for the courthouse," or more simply "Washington Courthouse."

The same legislation calling for the licensing of taverns also provided that rates for their services be fixed, and that schedules of these charges be posted publicly. These prescribed rates varied from time to time, but those for 1783 are a fair example:

> Ordered that the Tavern Keeprs for the year 1788 Take & Receive the following prices and no more, viz:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | West India Rum, per Quart | 0 5 4 |
> | Continent Rum, per Ditto | 4 0 |
> | Brandy, per Quart | 4 0 |
> | Whiskey, per Quart | 4 0 |
> | Cyder, per Quart | 1 0 |
> | Beer, per Quart | 1 0 |
> | Hott Diner | 2 0 |
> | Super or Brakefast | 1 0 |
> | Corn, per gallon | 8 |
> | Stablage per Night with Hay or Foder | 1 4 |
> | Pasturage per Day or Night | 8 |
> | Lodging per Night in Feather Bed | 8 |
>
> George Mitchell Tavern Keeper is permitted by the Court to sell What Brandy he has now on hand at the rate of Eight Shillings per Quart until May next Court.[3]

From the large and varied list of liquid refreshments included in all these lists, it may be assumed that most taverns were operated as centers for local gathering and social drinking rather than solely for the purpose of entertaining the travelling public. It must have been a popular enterprise, for in the two decades after the first licenses were granted, dozens more were issued. Many ran but a short time and were not renewed at the end of the year. No doubt most were in private homes, with but a single room or two for guests, for as yet there was no building of any size in the town.

About 1794 a newcomer, William Patterson Chester, arrived in Jonesboro, coming from Berlin, York County, Pennsylvania. Born there in 1770, the son of Robert J. Chester, a native of Ireland, he had been educated as a physician, probably in the Medical College of Philadelphia. He eloped in 1792 with Mary Adams, of Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, and they soon removed to the Tennessee country and settled in Jonesboro, where their eldest son, John Patton Chester, was born in 1795.[4]

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[3] *Ibid.*, February 3, 1783. The prices, of course, are in English money: pounds, shillings, and pence.

[4] Genealogical data from Chester family record, compiled about 1910 by John Allison IV, Nashville, Tenn., and from Blair family records, which in 1930 were in the possession of Miss Mary Chester Blair, Jonesboro, Tenn.

Doctors were very few and in great demand on the frontier, and soon his healing talents brought him a wide practice. John Sevier, military hero, popular idol, and soon to become first governor of Tennessee, was one of his patrons, as mentioned in Sevier's diary for 1795: "Dec. 26. Doctor Chester came in the evening tarried all night & lanced a little negro girls imposthumes [?] called Sarah."[5]

Not content to look solely after the physical well-being of the people in his new home, Dr. Chester took an active interest in everything else tending toward the improvement of the community, and in so doing associated himself with the most prominent and influential people of the region. Martin Academy had been established not far from Jonesboro in 1784 by the Reverend Samuel Doak, under charter first from the state of North Carolina and later from the state of Franklin. In 1795 a new charter was granted by the territorial assembly of the Southwest Territory under the name of Washington College. Among the trustees named was Dr. William Chester, in company with such illustrious men as John Sevier, Landon Carter, David Deaderick, Joseph Anderson, John Rhea, William Cocke, Joseph Hamilton, Archibald Roane, and the Reverends Charles Cummings and Gideon Blackburn.[6]

His further participation in public affairs was evidenced when he, with David Deaderick, John Sevier, Jr., Chrstopher Taylor, John Tipton, Adam Rader, John Blair, John Adams, Allen Gillespie, Thomas Embree, and Robert Allison, was named as a commissioner of the town by an act of the assembly "for regulating the town of Jonesborough and for erecting, building or repairing the Courthouse, prison and stocks in said town."[7] Dr. Chester later served on the town commission at various times, sometimes acting as secretary.

He evidently was in possession of some funds when he came to Jonesboro, for he soon began trading in real estate, buying and selling both town lots and farm lands. Industrial developments received his attention, too, for not many years later he bought property on Nolichucky River, at the mouth of Bumpass Cove, where he established Thomasville Forge for producing iron. This property he later sold to the Embree interests.[8]

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[5]Sevier's diary, as quoted in S. G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History*, second edition, 2 vols. (Nashville, 1920), II, 529.

[6]Chapter 8 of acts passed at the second session of the territorial assembly, in George Roulstone (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1803), 63.

[7]Chapter 33, *ibid.*, 102-04.

[8]Washington County Deeds (Washington County Courthouse, Jonesboro, Tenn), Deed Book 17, p. 89. For a discussion of the development of these mines under Elihu and Thomas Embree and their successors, see Paul M. Fink. "The Bumpass Cove Mines and Embreeville," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 16 (1944), 48-64.

At the turn of the century Jonesboro was one of three towns in the state where the superior court of law and equity, as well as the court of pleas and quarter sessions, held its sittings. These of course brought into attendance a host of lawyers, litigants, witnesses, and others, many of whom were accustomed to accomodations of a higher type than the primitive facilities afforded by the small taverns then serving the public.

Dr. Chester was quick to see the need and to take advantage of the opportunity. On the north side of Main Street, just west of the public square, he erected what was then the largest building in the town and one of the largest in the western country. There was a lower story of brick at the street level, occupied as shops, with two frame stories above. The entire eastern end of the second floor was the office or public room, around whose great open fireplace guests and townspeople could mingle. The remainder of the frame portion was divided into guest rooms. Two halls ran across the building, from front to back, with a stairway in each leading to the upper story. On the front were two small roofless porches projecting over the sidewalk, connected by a narrow catwalk and reached at either end by a flight of steps from the street level. Upon these porches the lower halls opened. A two-story brick and frame addition, used as a kitchen and dining room with guests rooms above, stood at the rear. Evidence to the point is not clear, but it would seem that this may not have been in the original plan, but added some time later.

The exact date when the building was erected and opened to the public has not been found, but it must have been in 1798 if not before, for when the county court met in February, 1799, it was "Ordered by the Court that Wm. P. Chester have leave to keep a public house in the town of Jonesborough and have given Wm. Sharman and Dusty Jacobs his security in the sum of One Thousand Dollars."[9]

There must have been a friendly and co-operative spirit among Jonesboro's innkeepers of the day, for the same court gave permission to John Brown to keep a public house, and Dr. Chester and Dusty Jacobs were securities for him. Jacobs himself either was or had been a tavern proprietor, whose establishment was almost directly across the street from the new Chester Inn.

For his staff Dr. Chester availed himself of a custom of the day, that of "binding" orphan or destitute children to some responsible citizen. Prior to the building of the Inn he secured the services of two such children, evidently brother and sister, by action of the county court, when it was: "Ordered by the Court that Sarah Roberts, a minor, be bound unto Wm.

[9]Minutes of the Washington County Court, February 4, 1799.

Patterson Chester until she arrive at the age of eighteen years, also James Roberts a minor unto the said William P. Chester until he arrives at the age of twenty one years."[10] These were not his only attendants, for recorded bills of sale show that he owned Negro slaves.

The travelling public was not long in availing itself of the new facilities. Two Moravian missionaries to the Cherokee Indians passed this way in the fall of the year the Inn opened and stopped there, recording the event in their journal:

> Ten miles from the Watauga we came to Jonesborough and into the region of Nolachucky. The land here about is very good and fertile and mostly level. . . .Jonesborough consists of one long street, has nearly 30 houses and is growing, as are all the towns of the back country. The innkeeper, with whom we stopped, looks after an apothecary's shop as well as the Inn.[11]

Another prominent early guest at the Chester Inn was his good friend John Sevier, then governor of Tennessee. Even though his daughter Rebecca, married to John Waddell, lived in Jonesboro, Sevier stopped at various times with Dr. Chester, entering in his diary for 1800:

> Tues. 6 [May] Went to Jonesbro Court — tarryed at Doctor Chesters.
>
> Wed. 7 Stayed at Jonesbro.
>
> Sun. 11 Left Jonesbro and went to my fathers. pd. Expenses to Chester 32/[shillings].[12]

For the time being at least, this grand new hostelry was too much for competition, and most of the smaller "public houses" soon went out of business. The few remaining for which licenses were issued must have been merely drinking places.

The same year Dr. Chester threw his doors open to the public, the new superior court of law and equity began its sessions. This was a court unlike any we have today, for it heard almost every kind of a case, civil and criminal, as well as those now heard in chancery court — in fact, every sort of legal cause save those of a magistrate's court and those involving infractions of the federal statutes. Its sittings were in Jonesboro, Knoxville, and Nashville, in the respective districts of Washington, Hamilton, and Mero. Three justices presided, the first trio named being Andrew Jackson, David Campbell, and Hugh L. White. In a few years Jackson and Campbell were replaced by John Overton and Archibald Roane.

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[10]*Ibid.*, February 19, 1796.

[11]"Report of the Journey of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Frederick C. DeSchweinitz to the Cherokees and the Cumberland Settlements," as quoted in S. C. Williams (ed.), *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800* (Johnson City, 1928), 450.

[12]John Sevier's diary, in Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson*, II, 579.

These were all men of distinction. Jackson's career is too well known to rehearse here. Overton and Campbell confined most of their talents to the law, and have been regarded as among the leading jurists of Tennessee. Campbell had previously presided as chief justice of the state of Franklin. Roane, too, spent most of his life in legal circles, though he did serve one term as governor of Tennessee. Hugh L. White's career was largely in the field of politics. Following terms on the bench of both the superior and the later supreme court of Tennessee, he was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Andrew Jackson, and spent fifteen years there. During this time he was offered, and declined, a seat in President Jackson's cabinet and was in 1836 a candidate for the presidency in opposition to Martin Van Buren.[13]

As the Chester Inn offered the only lodgings in town worthy of the name tavern, it is beyond question that these justices stopped there on at least a portion of the several sessions of their court. It probably also sheltered a host of the lesser legal lights, the officials and other assorted gentry in attendance. It takes little stretch of the imagination to see them grouped before the blazing logs in the great open fireplace on one side of the candle-lit office, discussing, gravely or excitedly, as their individual temperaments dictated, the political maneuvers of the state or nation, weighing the merits of cases decided or yet to be tried, or in more relaxed manner spinning yarns of the hunting and Indian fighting all had participated in.

While a guest here in 1803 Andrew Jackson was the center of an incident that might well have turned into tragedy, one that could have affected the fate of the nation. Political rivalry which had sprung up between him and John Sevier, intensified by charges of fraud in land speculation, had grown into a bitter personal enmity that had spread to the friends and admirers of each. Fresh fuel was given to the feud by the election of Jackson to the office of major general of militia, an office of great political as well as military importance.

The defeated Sevier and his friends were much chagrined at the result and the ill-feeling between the two men grew deeper. The next year the fires of hatred burned yet more fiercely when Sevier made the race for the governorship, defeating Archibald Roane, in whose behalf Jackson took an active part. Washington County, Sevier's old home, was of course strongly partisan, and Jackson was far from being popular there.

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[13]Joshua W. Caldwell, *Sketches of the Bench and Bar in Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1898), 114-27.

En route to Jonesboro to hold court in September, 1803, Jackson was warned that feeling against him was high, and that if he continued on to the town there was a possibility of violence being shown him. Though suffering at the time from an attack of the malaria that plagued him through life, Jackson would not turn back. Reaching his destination so weak he had to be assisted from his horse on arriving at the Inn, he immediately went to bed. Shortly friends hastened to see him, with the news that Colonel Harrison and a large, threatening crowd of men were gathered in the street in front of the tavern, bent on tarring and feathering him. Friends advised flight, or at least that the door be barred against intruders, but the idea of retreat was ever far from Jackson's mind. Calling for his pistols, he ordered the door flung wide open, and sent this message: "Give my compliments to Colonel Harrison, and tell him my door is open to receive him and his regiment whenever they choose to wait upon me, and that I hope the colonel's chivalry will induce him to *lead* his men, not follow them."

Whether it be that the conspirators were unwilling to assault a sick man or whether, in view of their acquaintance with Jackson's fearless character, each man hesitated to lead the attack, at any rate the tarring and feathering was not attempted, and the muttering crowd slowly dispersed. In a few days Jackson recovered his normal health, held court as usual, and the incident was closed.[14]

Following the death of his wife, Dr. Chester removed to Madison County, West Tennessee, where some of his children were already living. There he remarried and there he died in 1826. Chester retained ownership of the Inn even after his departure from Jonesboro. For a while it was leased and operated by David G. Vance and later by his widow, who in 1823 advertised:

BELL TAVERN
Mrs. Theodotia Vance
widow of David G. Vance, dec'd
most respectfully informs the public that she will continue to keep a
PUBLIC HOUSE
at the sign of the
BELL
in Jonesborough, Tennessee.

She hopes to be able, with the assistance of her son, to give general satisfaction to those who may give her a call. Her table will be inferior to none in this section of the country. Plenty of good provender will be provided for horses, and trusty hostlers will be in readiness to attend to them. As the strictest attention will be

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[14]James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, one volume edition (New York, 1863), 72. Parton quotes from Amos Kendall, *Life of Andrew Jackson, Private, Military, and Civil, with Illustrations* (New York, 1844), 106.

> paid to travellers and others, the liberal encouragement which the house has hitherto received is further solicited.[15]

The last sentence of this advertisement may be considered indicative of the popularity the Inn had gained under the management of Dr. Chester.

It was customary for early taverns to bear a name, usually not that of the owner or proprietor, but generally some other title that might be pictorially represented on a signboard suspended in plain view in front of the hostelry. Local contemporary examples were William Smith's "Sign of the Bear" at Leesburg and Daniel B. Barkley's "Sign of the Green Tree" on the Great Stage Road just west of Jonesboro.

It is not known whether the name "Sign of the Bell" was given by Dr. Chester or his successors, the Vances. According to Capt. Ross Smith, who as a boy lived in Jonesboro in the 1850's, a large bell, hung in a framework on top of the Inn, was rung to notify guests that meals were being served.[16] It is possible that this was the "Sign of the Bell" rather than a painted representation.

The bell on the roof had disappeared by 1880, but the custom of a dinner bell long persisted. The writer recalls that as late as 1910, it was the habit of the proprietor or one of the dining room waiters to appear on the porch with a large hand bell and ring vigorously when dinner was ready. One waiter, Manson Greenlee, had developed a cadence and rhythm all his own, so unmistakable that there was never any doubt as to who might be announcing the meal.

Andrew Jackson was to pay another visit to the Chester Inn, this time with far greater pomp than surrounded the earlier occasions, for this was during the last year of his first term in the White House, and while his campaign for re-election was in full swing. In August, 1832, Jackson travelled from Washington to his old home in Tennessee, the Hermitage, accompanied by a group of friends and supporters, one of whom was Francis P. Blair, gifted editor of the Washington *Globe,* one of the most potent political organs of its day.

Advance notice had been given of the date of the President's arrival in Jonesboro, and a multitude of his old friends planned a monster welcome for him, to assure him of the place he held in their affections. An escort of honor, a hundred picked horsemen, uniformed, mounted on dappled gray steeds and under the command of Samuel Greer, lifelong crony of Jackson, was sent to meet him on the way and conduct him into town. Jackson had

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[15] *American Economist and East Tennessee Statesman* (Greeneville), August 23, 1823.

[16] Captain Ross Smith, *Reminiscenses of an Old-Timer* ([Jonesboro], 1930), 55-56.

no foreknowledge of the plans for his reception until his carriage was halted on the Great Stage Road, some four miles north of Jonesboro, by the massed escort, shouting "Three cheers for Andrew Jackson, the greatest man on earth!"

Jackson stepped to the ground, with a smile and a warm handclasp as he greeted his old friends, and a cordial word as he met his new admirers. Just before the journey was resumed, he said, ". . . In all my career I have never been the recipient of a demonstration more greatly appreciated than this one, here under the old trees, in this old road I used to travel so often, by the sons of my old friends and acquaintances."

People in holiday mood had flocked in from every direction, and the town was crowded to overflowing. For a mile or more the road was lined with admirers, and the President entered along a living lane, greeted with cheers and waving flags. Every house was decorated. The night was spent at the Chester Inn, where a host of old acquaintances called to pay their respects. The next day a great reception was held in his honor. Inasmuch as there was no building in town nearly large enough to accomodate the vast throng that had gathered, the reception was held on the open, roofless porch of the Inn.

Here the President stood, while the people filed by to shake his hand and to speak a word with him. As his old comrades drew near in the long line, with their wives and children, he would call them by name and compliment them on their handsome families, often recalling some little incident shared together in days gone by. It was truly a great day for the town and the Chester Inn.[17]

During the 1830's and 1840's, the eyes of the whole nation were focussed on the Southwest. New lands were being opened to settlement by removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi. Texas had declared herself independent of Mexico, and voices were clamoring for its annexation to the United States. Politically, Tennessee had assumed a place of highest importance in national affairs. All this brought a flood of travel from the East — politicians and statesmen, settlers in search of new homes, businessmen seeking new markets and profits, and travellers in general.

By 1825 a weekly mail and passenger stage line had been inaugurated from Salisbury, North Carolina, to Knoxville by way of Jonesboro.[18] Seven years later the service was enlarged to give two stages a week be-

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[17]Incidents largely taken from John Allison, *Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History* (Nashville, 1897), 129-32. Jackson had spent the previous night near Blountville with Allison's mother and her first husband, both of whom accompanied him to Jonesboro and were present at the reception.

[18]*The Tennessee Farmer* (Jonesboro), November 25, 1825.

tween these points, as well as a two-horse stage twice weekly between Jonesboro and Blountville, connecting with the through lines from the east via Abingdon to Knoxville and the West.[19] The map included in a popular traveller's guide of 1838 showed these to be important links in a great network of stage roads tying together all parts of the eastern United States.[20]

These arterial highways passed along Main Street in Jonesboro, directly in front of the hospitable, ever-open doors of the Chester Inn, still the largest and most important hostelry in the town, and hundreds of wayfarers rested there. Among the many important personages whom local tradition has long mentioned as stopping at the Chester Inn about this period were John C. Calhoun, vice-president under John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson and later secretary of state under President John Tyler, and the eminent historian George Bancroft, who acted as secretary of the navy under James K. Polk and was later minister to England and Germany.

During the same period Sam Houston was embarking on the brillant career that would lead him to the presidency of the Republic of Texas. As soldier, member of Congress and Jackson's trusted lieutenant, he made many trips from Nashville to Washington, as well as about the state in his own campaign for the governorship. It would not strain one's credulity too much to believe that he, too, may have stopped at the Chester Inn in passing.

An interesting speculation arises as to another famous person who may have stopped here. An unsigned letter in a local paper in 1892 says:

> In 1836 Andrew Jackson spent a day here at the Jonesboro Inn [it was so known in 1892] and received quite an ovation and his old friends and admirers came in by hundreds to shake hands with him. It was on this occasion that he was accompanied by the polished and courtly "Fox of Kinderhook" Van Buren, then a candidate for Jackson's old shoes, which he got that year.[21]

Biographies of Jackson agree that he did travel this way in 1836, but none consulted mention Martin Van Buren's accompanying him, and biographies of the latter are silent on that point. Yet, at the time Jackson was vigorously promoting the candidacy of his protegé, and may well have brought him along to meet and gain the support of influential politicians in the South. Too, the statement was made when men were yet alive who could have recalled the occasion. So there is a reasonable basis for a supposition that Van Buren may be added to the roster of the famed guest of the Chester Inn.

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[19]John Blair, M. C., to David Nelson, postmaster at Elizabethton, Tenn., 1832, T. A. R. Nelson Papers (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tenn.).

[20]Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *Mitchell's Traveller's Guide through the United States, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1838).

[21]*The Herald & Tribune* (Jonesboro), May 8, 1892.

Increased patronage called for enlarged facilities to care for it. Dr. Chester had died some years before, and his son John P. Chester, who was also a physician, was now conducting the Inn. He made an announcement to the public through the local press in 1836:

BELL TAVERN

The subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public generally that he has made considerable improvements and additions to his establishments as a

PUBLIC HOUSE

He will personally attend to the accomodation and comforts of his guests, and claims no more of the public patronage than his assiduity in business and the advantages and conveniences of his establishment entitle him to.

His table will be furnished with the best the country will afford, and will be prepared in a manner to give general satisfaction.

His stable, which is large and convenient, will be supplied with the best of provender and attended by a first-rate hostler. He will keep a fine horse or two, to supply his customers who may wish to purchase, or give them information where they may supply themselves with such as may suit them.

John P. Chester[22]

During the 1950 restoration program, described later in this article, it became evident by unmistakable details of materials and workmanship that the front portion of the building is the older. It may be that the "considerable improvements and additions" spoken of above refer to the two-story brick and frame section in the rear.

Gubernatorial campaigns in the days before the Civil War were hectic affairs. The rival candidates would often tour the state together, engaging in joint debate on the issues of the campaign. The speeches were no short resumés, but were long and exhaustive, not to say exhausting. But the people ate it up. Everywhere the candidates were met by enormous crowds, with brass bands, torch-light processions, banners, fireworks, and all manner of displays of political enthusiasm.

In 1839 James K. Polk, then a member of Congress, was challenging the incumbent Newton Cannon for the governor's seat. Stumping the state together, they visited Jonesboro, and with their entourage stopped at the Chester Inn. It chanced that their visit to the town coincided with that of James Silk Buckingham, who, under the patronage of Prince Albert, later

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[22]*The Tennessee Sentinel* (Jonesboro), March 22, 1837.

Consort of Queen Victoria of England, was touring the South gathering material for his book, *The Slave States Of America.* Buckingham's account is so revealing in its description of the town, state politics, and local journalism that it is well worth quoting in its entirety:

> Five miles from Leesburg brought us to Jonesborough, which is a larger village than either of the three preceeding [Greeneville, Rheatown, and Leesburg]. We found the streets full of horses, saddled and bridled, belonging to the farmers of the neighbourhood, who had come in to attend "the speaking," as it is called . . . the rival candidates for the governorship being both here literally "in the field." The place of meeing was in a field above the town, near the skirts of a wood. The audience was said to exceed 3,000 persons; and ladies and children were as numerous as gentlemen. They had been "at it" as our informant said, since breakfast time; and as it was now nearly five in the afternoon, he thought they would soon "give over;" which we found to be the case, as we saw the crowd winding down the hill into the town just as the coach reached the postoffice, where the mail was first delivered, and then we repaired to the hotel to change horses. It had been our intention to halt here for the night; but every bed in town was engaged, and the excitement was excessive; we therefore thought it best to proceed onward. The town is prettily situated in a deep hollow, and consists chiefly of one long street, with more brick houses than wooden ones, which is unusual in this country. Its courthouse was lately burnt down, fires being as frequent here as elsewhere in America. It has two churches, Methodist and Presbyterian, and a population of about 1,200 persons, including from 300 to 400 negroes.
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> While we remained at the hotel I had an opportunity of looking over some of the local papers of recent date, one the "Athens Courier," published at Athens, in Tennessee; the other the "Tennessee Sentinel," published here in Jonesborough; and though I had seen much of heated political controversy, and could make due allowance for the excitment of an election, I confess that I was shocked and disgusted by the ruffianly and bloodthirsty spirit that seemed to guide the pens of the editors and correspondents of these two papers; nor could I wonder at the unwillingness of men of worth and honour to enter into the stormy sea of political life, and undergo the ordeal of a popular election in this country, where they are so certain of being assailed with the most unmeasured vituperation and made the victim of the most false and foul aspersions by their political opponents. . . . I thought it worst in the large cities of America; but they are comparatively mild and fair, compared with the papers of the interior; and those of this section of Tennessee . . . certainly surpass all that I had yet seen in coarseness and violence.[23]

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[23]J. S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America,* 2 vols. (London, [1842]), 245-47.

If Buckingham was shocked by the tone of the Jonesboro papers in 1838, he would have been speechless had he come in the next decade, when the eloquent Landon C. Haynes and the redoubtable "Parson" W. G. Brownlow were political, editorial, and personal enemies. Each was a master of invective and vituperation, and when attacking each other laid aside all inhibitions and did themselves proud. As each associated at all times with the political great, it is beyond question that they frequented the lobby, parlors, and dining room of the Chester Inn, and were thoroughly familiar with all its accomodations.

During the presidential campaign of 1840, Jonesboro and the Chester Inn received a visit from another group of celebrities. On a speaking tour in support of the Democratic ticket was an illustrious party of notables headed by Felix Grundy, who had successively been member of Congress, United States senator, and United States attorney-general in Van Buren's cabinet. With him were Hopkins L. Turney, member of Congress at the time, and later to be a senator, Senator Alexander Anderson, and Congressman Henry Watterson. The party spoke in Jonesboro August 5, 1840, to an immense throng. Contemporary newspaper accounts tell of the enthusiastic receptions they were being given as they visited the various towns in East Tennessee and southwestern Virginia.[24]

James K. Polk, who had been a guest at the Chester Inn in 1839, came back in 1841 when he was opposing James C. ("Lean Jimmy") Jones for the governor's chair. As in 1839, this was a joint debate and attracted voters and curiosity seekers by the thousand, to make a thoroughgoing gala day of it. This time the speaking was in a grove in the west end of town. There must have been a great deal of high-flung, loud-voiced, and long-winded oratory, for one contemporary account tells that "they roared like lions at each other all day long." One is tempted to wonder if any present day political speakers could hold their audiences so long.

In the 1840's travel through East Tennessee to and from the South was increasing daily. At least three stage routes ran through Main Street of Jonesboro. The roads swarmed with long caravans of creaking wagons, heavily laden with every kind of freight, private conveyances of every type and capacity, as well as scores of travellers on horseback. Save in emergencies, and for a very limited amount of express stage travel, all traffic halted at nightfall or soon thereafter, the wayfarer planning his journey in such a manner as to insure himself of good food and lodging.

The Chester Inn, long the only pretentious tavern in town, could not even begin to house all this transient public, and other facilities soon

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[24]*The Vedette* (Knoxville), August 15, 1840.

sprang up to accomodate the travellers. John Green, wealthy landowner in the eastern end of Jonesboro, built the Phoenix Tavern, a three-story brick structure on the site of the present city hall. During the Civil War this building was used as a barracks for troops stationed in the town, and was so badly damaged by the occupancy that it could not be repaired at any reasonable cost, and was soon afterward torn down.[25]

Just west of the present Central Christian Church Dr. Daniel Kenney erected and operated a hotel known as the Eutaw House. This became a regular stop for one of the stage lines, the large stables for the relays of horses standing on the lot at the rear of the present church.

About 1850, when the building of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad was assured, John W. Simpson, one of Washington County's influential men in the promotion of the railroad, moved in from his country home and built, of brick burned on the premises, a large three-story, brick hotel building on the corner of West Main Street and First Avenue, now the residence of Robert M. May. For a number of years, until the Civil War, he operated this under the name of the Mansion House.

By 1857 the railroad was completed, trains were running on regular schedules, and a brick depot had been built in the center of the town, on the opposite side of the rails from the courthouse. Here another hotel was added to those already in business. John Blair, former member of Congress, added a large commercial dining room to his residence, fronting the public square between the courthouse and the railroad, and opened the Washington House to the public. Blair operated it for a few years. Following the Civil War it was for many years under the management of Capt. James Sevier. Until the burning of the railway station in 1887, the Washington House was one of the eating houses where the passenger trains stopped for meals.

The hand of destiny that was to carry Andrew Johnson to the White House was beginning to make itself evident in the early 1840's. In the course of his various campaigns for Congress, the governorship, and the United States Senate, he was a frequent visitor to Jonesboro, and stopped at the Chester Inn on many occasions. Dr. John P. Chester, the proprietor, was a warm personal friend.[26]

One of Johnson's visits was in May, 1861, just after the first guns of the war had been fired at Fort Sumter. Working diligently to keep his native state in the Union, he and T. A. R. Nelson, a leading attorney of Jonesboro and East Tennessee, spoke to a large crowd against secession, their rostrum being the open porch of the frame office building where the store of Dobyns-Taylor now stands.

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[25]As told the writer about 1930 by Miss Alice Slemons, Jonesboro.
[26]Chester and Allison family recollections.

The completion of the railroad had filled in the last rail gap between the East and the Southwest. When the trains began their regular runs, the flood of travel along the stage roads immediately dried up into a mere trickle. No longer were travellers content to bump along all day over roads deep in dust or mud, and to spend the night at whatever tavern chance might bring them to at nightfall. Now they could, and did, ride both day and night in comfort, regardless of weather. Sleeping on coach seats was not the most enjoyable repose, but so swift were the trains in comparison to the lumbering stage coaches that no ordinary trip would keep one away from his bed more than a night or two. Too, good hotels were available in all terminal and connecting points.

As the stage coaches disappeared from the highways, so went the great trains of wagons hauling freight. The new-fangled cars could get goods to their destination far quicker and more cheaply.

This sudden change in mode of travel, coupled with the Civil War so close at hand, was a death blow to the thousands of inns and taverns dependent on the stage, carriage, and wagon trade. Hundreds speedily went out of business. Two in Jonesboro were among the casualties, the Phoenix Hotel and the Mansion House.

The ten years before the actual start of rail service were profitable ones, however. The main offices of the railroad-to-be were in Jonesboro, and the many meetings of stockholders and directors, the parties of engineers, contractors, and their crews, added to the usual transient trade, taxed the hotel accomodations of the town. No record has come to light as to just who among all these folk stopped at the Chester Inn, but there can be no question but that a hostelry so large, so long established and widely known got its share of the patronage.

Not long before the outbreak of the Civil War Dr. John P. Chester gave over the operation of the Chester Inn and it went into other hands, as an ad in a Greeneville paper informed the public:

UNION HOTEL
Jonesborough, Tenn.
William Squibb, Proprietor.

Having rented and refitted the hotel building formerly occupied by Dr. Chester, I would respectfully invite the Travelling public and friends to give me a call. I pledge myself to provide the best the county affords. The house is located in the business part of town, and is only a short walk from the depot.

Livery Stable

Connected with my house I have a livery stable, where horses

and vehicles can be procured. Stock, too, will be well taken care of. Liberal patronage is solicited.

William Squibb.[27]

The new name, "Union Hotel," chosen for the Inn may be taken as an indication of the operator's political leanings. If so, he, or others of the family, had a full stock of courage, to hold fast to the name in the face of hostile surroundings. In 1862, while Jonesboro was deep in the heart of the Confederacy, another ad of the institution appeared in a local paper:

UNION HOTEL

Jonesborough, Tenn.

Mrs. C. A. Squibb, Proprietress.

Mrs. Squibb would respectfully announce to the former patrons of the Union Hotel, and to the travelling public generally, that she has re-opened the House and will keep it open for the accomodation of all who may call. The table will be supplied with the best the county affords.

The house is located in the business portion of the town, and only a short distance from the Depot, so that passengers will have but a short walk.

Attached to the hotel is a livery stable, where those wishing to hire horses or conveyances can be accomodated on the shortest notice.[28]

The next year, Federal troops under Gen. John G. Foster drove the Confederate forces from Jonesboro after a brisk skirmish and camped a short distance from the town. No doubt the troops were surprised to see the sign "Union Hotel" in the heart of enemy territory, and probably some of them were quartered here, hotel beds being more comfortable than camp facilities.

After the collapse of the Confederacy, Jonesboro, like almost every other community in the South, was prostrate. The bitterness and strife of Reconstruction days forced many prominent citizens to leave temporarily. It was not until well into the 1870's that much life and spirit began to show itself in the old town.

About this time James H. Dosser purchased the Inn from Dr. John P. Chester. He did not operate it himself, as his mercantile business and extensive real estate holdings demanded too much of his time, but leased it to some other person. During this period it acquired a new name, for when in 1880 it was sold to W. E. Mathes for $1500, it was described as being "known as the Planter's House."[29]

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[27]*Tri-Weekly Banner* (Greeneville), December 11, 1860.
[28]*Jonesboro Express*, August 15, 1862.
[29]Washington County Deeds, Deed Book 52, p. 135.

Mathes began an intensive repairing and remodeling of the building, in the course of which the two small, open porches that had originally adorned the front were replaced by the present covered veranda, extending across the whole of the front and ornamented with elaborate scrollwork and brackets. This remodelling and the hospitality of Mathes, familiarly known as "Lame Bill," was remarked upon by a correspondent of the *Nashville World,* whose long letter describing Jonesboro, its historical background, and present businesses, was reprinted in a local paper. At this time the street level of the Inn, that had and would continue to house a score of kinds of business enterprises, was occupied by Aiken & Powell, who carried "as large and as fine a stock of milinery goods and notions as are to be found in Washington County."[30]

A determined effort was being put forth in the 1880's to attract visitors to East Tennessee and to develop it into the resort section it has now become. Advertising matter was broadcast everywhere. The East Tennessee, Virginia & Georgia Railroad in 1881 issued an elaborate booklet, illustrated with woodcuts, describing the many and varied attractions of the region traversed by its lines, including a list of hotel accomodations. Among these mentioned are Jonesboro, where "W. E. Mathes has a large house with veranda. Will accomodate twenty to thirty boarders at reasonable rates."[31]

Another and larger promotion booklet went into more elaborate detail, both as to resort advantages and business operations, confining itself to the upper end of East Tennessee. Even discounting a certain amount of over-enthusiasm on the part of the writer, his description of the Planter's House, much more commendatory than for any other hotel mentioned in the brochure, suggests that its reputation for excellence was not undeserved:

> For four years the Planters House has been the popular hotel of Jonesboro, and one of the best conducted first-class houses of entertainment in the State. The building is a handsome three story structure, eligibly located in the business center of the town, with a frontage of 85 feet on Main Street, and with excellent accomodations for 50 to 60 guests. The house has broad, handsome verandahs running the entire length of the house in both front and rear, and its management throughout makes it a model of convenience and comfort.
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> The rooms are large, airy, and furnished with elegance and taste, and the bill of fare embraces every delicacy and substantial obtainable in this fine market, served in a manner calculated to

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[30]*Jonesboro Journal,* August 23, 1883.

[31]*Guide to the Summer Resorts and Watering Places of East Tennessee, North Georgia and Alabama. Presented with the compliments of the East Tennessee, Virginia & Georgia Railroad Company* (Memphis, 1880), 34.

please the most fastidious. Care and scrupulous cleanliness pervades every department; and the servants are attentive and polite.

The landlord is ever regardful of the comfort and pleasure of his guests, and a sojourn at the Planters is as near an approach to an elegant house as a stranger could desire.

The charges are [reasonable] and the writer can truthfully affirm that he has no where in his somewhat extended travels throughout the North and South found better accomodations, even at higher rates.[32]

While the publicity campaign was on, Charles Dudley Warner, famed traveller, editor, and essayist, with a single companion made a leisurely equestrian tour of a part of the southern mountains. Starting at Abingdon, they spent a number of weeks in the saddle, visiting remote spots in the Carolina highlands, returning along the western foothills in East Tennessee. Their experiences and observations were given to the public in Warner's book *On Horseback*.

Crossing from the southern side of Nolichucky River and travelling via Broylesville, they came to Jonesboro. We quote:

Ten miles more in the late afternoon brought us to Jonesboro, the oldest town in the State, a pretty place, with a flavor of antiquity, set picturesquely on hills, with the great mountains in sight. People from further South find this an agreeable summering place, and a fair hotel, with odd galleries in front and rear, did not want company.[33]

The reference to the "odd galleries" identifies this "fair hotel" as the Chester Inn, and here the saddle-weary horsemen rested the night before going on their way.

Warner was possessed of a negative bias and almost entirely free from compliments. He seems to have come south with a positive determination not to like anything, no matter how beautiful, interesting, or attractive others may have found it. Virtually every place he stopped drew criticism, mild or caustic. So, from his faintly favorable comments, Jonesboro and the Chester Inn must have lived up to a part of the glowing publicity given it elsewhere, and to have been not entirely displeasing to his fastidious tastes.

In the summer of 1883 the Chester Inn narrowly escaped destruction by fire in one of the worst conflagrations Jonesboro has ever had. Start-

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[32]*A Descriptive Review of the Industries and Resources of Upper East Tennessee, etc.* (Knoxville, c1885), 35.

[33]Charles Dudley Warner, *On Horseback—A Tour in Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee* (Boston, 1888), 145.

ing in a store on Cherokee Street, the flames spread in both directions, burning southward to the railroad and, skipping the brick block on the corner, west along Main Street to the site of the present post office. Three residences, three stores, a church, a large livery stable, and some assorted smaller structures were in ashes when the fire finally died, burning itself out, for there were no facilities to combat it save for an ineffectual bucket brigade.

The flames raged fiercely just across Main Street from the Inn. Only the prompt action of the owner in hanging quilts and blankets over the roof and front of the building and keeping them drenched with countless buckets of water, aided by a breeze from the west, prevented the fire from jumping the street to the Inn.[34]

Twice again in recent years, in the 1940's when the Andrew Jackson Tavern, on Main Street just east of the Chester Inn, was gutted by fire, it was in grave danger. A brick firewall and efficient fire-fighting equipment saved it each time.

In the twenty years following 1887, when W. E. Mathes sold the Inn to Felix Earnest, the property changed hands a number of times. Leased and operated by Gideon Cate for a while, in 1892 it was bought by R. F. Wells, who, however, did not operate it himself. Still called the "Planter's House," it was under the management of Landon H. Patton, who bought it himself in 1895 and continued to operate it for some years, selling to J. A. T. Bacon in 1902.

That sale marked the end of owner-operation. Bacon, a former Jonesboro resident, had moved west. The building was rented to W. P. Colley, who changed the name to the Jonesboro Inn, and continued in charge for awhile after it was sold to Gus Brodrick in the fall of 1906. Afterward, for a period, it was under the management of J. R. Russell and later W. L. Lyons. About the time of the First World War it closed its doors as a commercial hotel. Since then it has been used as an apartment house.[35]

Time has taken its toll of the Chester Inn. About 1950 Charles M. Bennett, the present owner, entered on a program of extensive remodelling of the interior of the building. After a century and a half the foundation timbers and other supports had yielded to termites and decay, and had there not been massive and expensive replacement and repair a very few more years would have found the whole building deteriorated beyond redemption. The guests rooms have been rebuilt into a number of modern apartments,

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[34]Recollections of Mrs. Essie M. Turner, Jonesboro, whose childhood home directly across the street from the Inn, was one of those consumed.

[35]Data on transfers of the property following 1887, with accompanying occupancy, are taken from the Deed Records of Washington County.

but the exterior, in so far as possible, has been left as it was, at least since the extensive repairs of 1880. From the evidences of construction uncovered, it probably, with the exception of the porch, looks today as it did in the beginning. The halls, too, have been retained as they were, with the original stairways and railings.

By the sides and rear of the Inn many stone steps and scores of yards of retaining walls have been laid, topped by beds of blooming flowers, with the result that today its appearance is more attractive and in keeping with its traditions than has been the case for many a year.

Hardly a one of the old guest registers of the Inn survives, and it has been possible to find names and stories of but a scant few of the interesting and important people who have stopped here in the century and a half it was in operation. Yet, in view of Jonesboro's importance for much of that period and that this was the largest and favorite Inn in the town for most, if not all that period, we can with confidence believe that scores more might be added to the list of those mentioned — politicians and aspirants for office, local and national, business and professional men, and travellers in general.

A picture at hand, not so very old, brings one such visit back to the writer's memory. It was at the time of the great Homecoming Celebration of 1912, when thousands of one-time residents of Jonesboro and Washington County returned to their old homes for a week of visiting and festivities. For the entertainment of the great crowds there were concerts, ball games, addresses, and a monster barbecue, with whole beeves roasted in great pits dug back of the school building.

This picture shows the long porch of the Inn wreathed in parti-colored bunting and packed with spectators, evidently gathered to watch a parade. The sidewalks, too, were jammed with people and the streets filled with gaily decorated vehicles. All were horsedrawn, with not a single automobile in evidence.

The famous Taylor brothers, Bob and Alf, were in attendance at the Homecoming, and the entertainment for one night was the popular lecture, "The Fiddle and the Bow," with which Bob Taylor had charmed audiences from coast to coast. After the lecture he and his brother Alf met with old friends in the office of the Inn to reminisce and spin yarns of days gone by. The room was packed and I, with others of the younger set, was pushed back into a corner, while the elders held forth, with jokes and stories, fiddle music and songs. Just before the group broke up at a very late hour, a tiny space was cleared in the center of the floor. Here, while Alf Taylor, Dick Decker, and other oldtime artists of the fiddle and the banjo played the old dance tunes, Bob Taylor and Bob Thomas "cut the pigeon wing."

A SHOOTING AFFRAY IN KNOXVILLE WITH INTERSTATE REPERCUSSIONS: THE KILLING OF JAMES H. CLANTON BY DAVID M. NELSON, 1871

By Allen J. Going

In a late September afternoon of 1871 an exchange of shots on one of the principal streets in Knoxville, Tennessee, startled the citizens of the town.[1] Repercussions from the event profoundly shocked two states, inasmuch as David M. Nelson, son of prominent Tennessean, killed James Holt Clanton, prominent Alabamian. Reconstruction years witnessed numerous and fairly frequent instances of violence in the South, but this particular one caused widespread comment and conjecture. Clanton, an ex-Confederate officer, at the time was chairman of the Alabama State Democratic Committee and was on official state business as the personal representative of Governor Robert B. Lindsay. His death, occurring as it did in a Unionist area and at the hands of an ex-Federal officer, naturally led to the reopening of old wounds and to much confusion in explaining the circumstances connected therewith.

Not only was the antagonism between Unionist East Tennessee and Confederate Alabama involved in the affair, but the seriously divided sentiments on the part of the East Tennesseans themselves had their influence. During the early part of the war the Confederates had treated the Unionist majority with extreme harshness, and when the Federal army assumed control in 1863, the Unionists retaliated with a vengeance. With the vindictive "Parson" W. G. Brownlow as governor and the Radical Unionists in control of the state during the Reconstruction period, forbearance and conciliation were conspicuously absent. This Radical regime had been overthrown only two years before the affray, in 1869; and the ex-Confederates were then not in a mood to exercise restraint.[2]

Accounts of the tragic incident as reported in the newspapers at the time vary considerably from the evidence which was presented at the trial of Nelson two years later. An examination of the background and the immediate steps leading to the shooting should help to explain this conflict. Born in Georgia in 1827, Clanton came with his parents to Macon

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[1]A grant from the University of Alabama Research Committee made possible some of the research for this study.

[2]In addition to the writings of Thomas B. Alexander cited below, the extremes of post-war bitterness in East Tennessee are vividly illustrated by the whole tone of the autobiography of the pro-Confederate Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, written in 1870 at "Exile's Retreat" in Charlotte, North Carolina. W. B. Hesseltine (ed.), *Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey: Autobiography and Letters* (Nashville, 1954).

County, Alabama, in 1836. Abandoning his studies at the University of Alabama for service in the Mexican War, he later joined the López expedition against Cuba in 1851. He affiliated with the Whig and Know-Nothing (American) parties and, while practicing law in Montgomery, represented that county in the legislature. Opposed to secession, Clanton ran as a Bell-Everett elector in 1860 and described himself as a Union man until the North attempted to coerce the South. Entering the Confederate army, he rose to the rank of major-general by 1865.[3]

Clanton's moderate views on secession, his war record, and his Whig background qualified him for a major post-war role in the attempts to fuse into one conservative party those with divergent ante-bellum political affiliations. In August, 1866, a group of interested citizens organized at Selma the Conservative Union party and appointed an executive committee with Clanton at its head. A convention in 1868 in Montgomery changed the name to the Democratic and Conservative party but retained Clanton as committee chairman, a position which he held until his untimely death.[4] Although Clanton did not run for public office between the end of the war and his death, it is altogther likely that he would have played an even more significant role in Alabama affairs had the tragedy not intervened. He is said to have been in agreement on many points with such prominent southern "redeemers" as John B. Gordon of Georgia and Wade Hampton of South Carolina.[5]

Clanton presented a striking appearance — thick-set, of medium height, with auburn hair, aquiline nose, high cheek bones, and blue eyes. His critics often referred to his pugnacious disposition. "He was rash, impetuous, and sometimes violent," said one editorial, "but the impulses which aroused him were always pure, unselfish, and chivalrous."[6] A contemporary political figure stated that Clanton's life was frequently imperiled by the bold manner in which he discharged his duty.[7] In 1869 on the streets of Montgomery, Clanton, "unable to control his passion," made an unprovoked attack upon the Radical lieutenant governor for no apparent reason other than his hatred of Radicals.[8] His friends, on the

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[3]William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama* (Atlanta, 1872), 632-33, 644; Clanton testimony in Ku Klux Report, June 19, 1871, *Senate Reports*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 41, VIII, 226.

[4]John Witherspoon DuBose and James K. Greer, *Alabama's Tragic Decade: Ten Years of Alabama, 1865-1874* (Birmingham, 1940), 130-31, 215-17.

[5]*Ibid.*, 93.

[6]Mobile *Weekly Register*, September 30, 1871.

[7]Willis Brewer, *Alabama: Her History . . . and Public Men* (Montgomery, 1872), 467.

[8]Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor*, September 20, 1871; Dubose and Greer, *Alabama's Tragic Decade*, 78-79, 284, 290.

other hand, extolled Clanton's bravery and courage, calling him the "Chevalier Bayard of Alabama — a man without fear and without reproach."[9]

Clanton was visiting Knoxville in 1871 as the legal representative of the state of Alabama in its controversy with the J. C. Stanton interests over control of the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad. The legislature had endorsed over five million dollars worth of the bonds of this company and had loaned the company two million dollars more in state bonds. Shortly after the election of Democratic Governor Robert Burns Lindsay in 1870, Stanton's company defaulted on interest payments, and the state took over the road. Since portions of the railroad at both ends of the line lay outside Alabama, a long-drawn-out legal controversy ensued. Clanton, as a member of the law firm of Stone, Clopton, and Clanton, was representing the state of Alabama in the controversy over the Tennessee portion of the railroad.

Previous to Clanton's Knoxville visit he had been involved in some incidents of violence connected with this railroad matter. Early in September, 1871, at a gathering in Montgomery, Clanton denounced in harsh terms the Stanton lawyer and was reported to have brandished a gun. Later in the same month in Chattanooga Clanton employed force against a group engaging in "gross and vulgar abuse" of him.[10] These incidents, plus warnings and threats against Clanton's going to East Tennessee, probably explain why many people in Alabama believed the Knoxville incident to have been instigated by Stanton forces. Indeed, it seems that rumors of Clanton's death circulated in Montgomery some hours before the actual shooting.[11]

The shooting episode itself was reported in considerable detail by the newspapers of Knoxville and reprinted extensively in Alabama and Tennessee. On September 27, 1871, following the adjournment of the Wednesday afternoon session of federal court, Clanton was proceeding toward the center of town in company with several others interested in the railroad litigation. Tomlinson Fort, an attorney for the Stanton faction but friendly to Clanton, introduced the latter to David M. Nelson. Nelson, a lawyer from Cleveland, Tennessee, and a former lieutenant colonel in the Union army, was the son of Thomas A. R. Nelson, prominent political figure and at that time a member of the Tennessee supreme

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[9]Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 633.

[10]Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor*, September 20, 1871; Huntsville *Times*, quoted in Selma *Times-Journal*, November 2, 1872.

[11]Remarks of William H. Lowe in Alabama house of representatives quoted in Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 637; Montgomery *Advertiser*, September 28, 1871.

court.[12] One newspaper, after interviewing numerous witnesses, reported the following conversation between Nelson and Clanton:

> Clanton. . . remarked that he "had now got through his law business and was ready to see the town." Nelson said: "I can take you where there is something very nice if you are not afraid." Clanton said pleasantly: "Do I look as if I was afraid?" Nelson replied: "I do not know whether you are or not." General Clanton replied: "I am not afraid of anything or any man." Nelson again repeated: "I do not know whether you are or not," in a manner which Clanton seemed to think insulting, and he retorted: "If you think I am, try me; name your friend, time and place, any time or any place." Nelson very excitedly said: "This time and place is as good as any. Take your stand."[13]

Clanton, who was in the habit of carrying a gun, then stepped into the street and called upon Fort to step off the ground for a duel. Fort declined to do so saying that they should pay no attention to Nelson who was obviously drunk. Meanwhile, Nelson had rushed into the St. Nicholas Saloon and, in spite of attempted restraints, had procured a double-barreled shotgun from an adjoining store. Accounts vary as to the details of the actual shooting. Most of the witnesses, however, believed that Nelson emerged from the saloon partly hidden by some beer barrels, rested his gun against an awning post, and fired one barrel. Judge C. F. Trigg, the presiding judge of federal court, witnessed the episode from his room in the Lamar House and testified before the coroner's jury that Clanton had no weapon in his hand when Nelson fired. Clanton retured the fire with his pistol, the bullet striking the curb, and Nelson discharged his second barrel. It is not certain which one of Nelson's shots struck his victim. Some said that Clanton was slowly sinking to the ground and unable to raise his right arm to firing level when discharging his pistol. Clanton was carried into the Lamar House, dead from some fifteen or more slugs in his chest, and Nelson fled back through the saloon.[14]

A quickly-summoned coroner's jury heard testimony from the leading witnesses, including Fort and Judge Trigg. The verdict read: "James H. Clanton was killed on the 27th day of September, 1871, by gun shot fired by David M. Nelson; the weapon was a double barrel shot gun, and by unlawful means."[15] Apparently no one made a serious attempt to prevent

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[12]For a brief discussion of Thomas A. R. Nelson's career, see Thomas B. Alexander, "'Strange Bedfellows': the Interlocking Careers of T. A. R. Nelson, Andrew Johnson and W. G. (Parson) Brownlow," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 24 (1952), 68-91.

[13]Knoxville *Press and Herald*, September 29, 1871.

[14]For various accounts of the shooting see *ibid.*, September 28, 29, 1871; Knoxville *Chronicle*, September 28, 29, 1871; Montgomery *Advertiser*, September 28, 1871; Nashville *Republican Banner*, September 29, 30, 1871; Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 634-45.

[15]Quoted in Knoxville *Chronicle*, September 29, 1871.

Nelson from leaving the scene of the crime. He went first to his father's house in Knoxville, then obtained a horse on the outskirts of the city and rode to Cleveland, Tennessee. Although the sheriff was reported to have gone in pursuit of the fugitive, Nelson returned to Knoxville of his own accord on September 29. The next day he followed the urgent advice of his father and friends and surrendered to authorities. He was released on $25,000 bond.[16] On September 29 a Knox County grand jury, after hearing witnesses Fort and Trigg, returned a true bill, which stated, "The Said David M. Nelson the Said James H. Clanton. . . wilfully, deliberately, premeditatedly, maliciously, feloniously, and of his malice aforethought did then and there kill and murder in the first degree."[17]

In Knoxville and other parts of Tennessee the immediate reaction to the killing was one of shock and some humiliation. Feeling ran especially high because the victim represented a neighboring state on official business. The Knoxville *Press and Herald,* a Democratic newspaper, called the incident "one of the most deplorable affrays that ever took place in Knoxville" and felt that it was even more disgraceful because of "the failure of the authorities to promptly arrest the murderer."[18] Although the Republican organ, the Knoxville *Chronicle,* did not go so far in condemning the authorities, it did admit that "there was not such diligence as there ought to have been."[19] The two newspapers also engaged in a heated debate after the *Chronicle* stated: "It can safely be said. . . that it was not, in any respect, political prejudices that brought about the sad tragedy. Col. Nelson has been for some years prominently identified with the same political party as Gen. Clanton." The *Press and Herald* did not argue that political difference motivated the incident but did contend that Nelson was a Radical rather than a Democrat.[20] Both papers carefully pointed out that the quarrel was purely personal and had no connection with the railroad litigation. Nelson was in Knoxville in connection with a case pending before the supreme court.[21]

In addition to newspaper editorials of sympathy, other expressions of regret came from Tennessee. At a special meeting in the United States Courtroom the bar of East Tennessee adpoted resolutions expressing grief,

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[16]*Ibid.*, October 1, 1871; Nashville *Republican Banner,* October 1, 1871.

[17]Knox County Criminal Court Record (Knox County Courthouse), 1871-1872, p. 249.

[18]Knoxville *Press and Herald,* September 28, 29, 1871.

[19]Knoxville *Chronicle,* September 29, 1871.

[20]*Ibid.*, September 30, October 1, 1871. It seems that Nelson had earlier been an active Radical but in recent months had been working with the Democrats. His father, T. A. R. Nelson, associated with the Colyar-Conservative faction of the Democratic party, joined the Liberal Republican movement in 1872. Thomas B. Alexander, *Political Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1950), 237-38.

[21]Knoxville *Press and Herald,* September 28, 1871.

which were spread on the court records and sent to the Clanton family.[22] The following month the Tennessee legislature adopted a resolution one part of which tendered to Alabama and to the family of the deceased "profound sympathy." The other part read: *"Be it resolved,* 1st. That the people of Tennessee (whilst they express no opinion as to the guilt or innocence of Col. Nelson) deeply regret the most unfortunate occurrence resulting in the death of General James H. Clanton, and deplore his untimely end with unfeigned sorrow."[23]

Alabama reacted to the news with a mixture of shock, grief, and indignation. A mass meeting, which convened immediately in Montgomery, passed resolutions and appointed a committee to escort the remains back to Alabama. The capital city was draped in black and every business house was closed. Some 10,000 persons viewed the body as it lay in state at the capitol, and the funeral procession extended for approximately two miles.[24] The Montgomery bar adopted lengthy resolutions praising Clanton and extending condolences. Governor Lindsay eulogized Clanton in his message to the legislature; and the Alabama house of representatives adopted resolutions, heard numerous eulogies, and proclaimed thirty days of official mourning.[25] Even the leading state Republican newspaper paid tribute to Clanton as "a brave man, a true friend, a kind affectionate husband and father." "No man," it said, "was better beloved in our city."[26] The Montgomery *Advertiser* eulogized the deceased in the most glowing terms and bitterly denounced the Knoxville authorities for their handling of the affair. A particularly indignant editorial condemned the granting of bail to Nelson in a case that the newspaper considered not bailable under law. "This ready haste. . . ," it said, "suggests. . .an intended mockery throughout."[27]

Some Alabamians used stronger terms. The Mobile *Register* labeled the affray a "base and brutal assassination."[28] Joseph Hodgson, speaking at the Montgomery mass meeting, went even further when he declared:

> All the circumstances of the tragedy point to a conspiracy for his death. The agent of the hostile corporation introduces a notorious desperado. A quarrel is instantly sprung by the assassin.

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[22]*Ibid.*, September 30, 1871.

[23]*Acts of the State of Tennessee,* 1871, pp. 184-85.

[24]Montgomery *Advertiser*, September 29, 30, 1871; Knoxville *Press and Herald*, September 30, 1871.

[25]Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 634-41; *Journal of the* (Alabama) *House of Representatives*, 1871-1872, pp. 22, 35, 43.

[26]*Alabama State Journal* (Montgomery), September 28, 1871. See also eulogy delivered by a Republican member of the legislature quoted in Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 640.

[27]Montgomery *Advertiser*, October 4, 1871.

[28]Mobile *Weekly Register*, September 30, 1871.

In the same meeting ex-Governor Thomas H. Watts stated:

> Clanton evidently contemplated a fair combat. . . . He did not dream of such perfidy, himself a very prince of chivalry. . . . Under the circumstances, his death whether prearranged or not was an assassination.[29]

The interpretation that Nelson was a Stanton agent or that the quarrel grew out of the railroad controversy has found its way into a number of secondary accounts,[30] but apparently with no definite proof. Although the two participants in the incident were introduced by a Stanton attorney, Fort himself tried to persuade Clanton to leave the scene before Nelson returned with a weapon. On the basis of the evidence obtainable, it must be concluded that the quarrel was a personal one growing out of Nelson's intoxication and Clanton's impetuosity and ultra-sensitivity. A natural feeling of suspicion and hostility between an ex-Confederate and a former Union officer served also as a contributory factor. Finally, the fact that Clanton had been on the alert for some such attack may have led him to infer that this seemingly unprovoked challenge was against him in his representative capacity, thereby evoking from him precipitate action. "It is believed," said a Knoxville newspaper, "that he [Clanton] must have thought (however erroneously) that the Stanton business was at the bottom of the difficulty."[31]

The trial of Nelson was originally set for January, 1872, but was postponed periodically for more than a year. In only one instance, however, did the court record state any reason for the delay. On July 9, 1872, the record stated that the case was continued "on account of the absence of C. F. Trigg, a witness for the state."[32] Although the case was given precedence over all others in the next court term, it again received postponements until late May, 1873.[33] In contrast to the extensive coverage of the incident itself, the newspapers carried only brief mentions of the trial, which lasted four days, May 27-30. The Knoxville *Chronicle* on only one day quoted any of the testimony. A witness for the state, Thomas H. Caldwell, testified that Clanton appeared to be in a very belligerent mood, evidently expecting a duel. He also believed that when Nelson stepped out into the street, Clanton, who held a pistol in his hand, made a remark something like, "I am ready for you." Although Caldwell did not witness

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[29]Quoted in Montgomery *Advertiser*, September 29, 1871.

[30]Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), 508; Horace Mann Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama* (Washington, 1939), 68; Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, 4 vols. (Chicago, 1921), III, 327.

[31]Knoxville *Press and Herald*, September 29, 1871.

[32]Knox County Criminal Court Record, 1871-1872, pp. 351, 403, 410, 507, 619; Knoxville *Chronicle*, January 24, February 28, May 28, 1872.

[33]Knox County Criminal Court Record, 1872-1873, pp. 35, 48, 108, 229.

the actual shooting, a saloon keeper stated his belief that the first discharge from Nelson's gun was accidental, that then Clanton fired, and that Nelson fired a second shot to defend himself. Several other witnesses who were examined testified that Clanton had a reputation "as a fighting man and a dangerous one when under liquor."[34] Although Tomlinson Fort appeared as a witness for the state, no record of his testimony has been found, and Judge C. F. Trigg failed to appear.[35] After hearing the charge from Judge M. L. Hall, the jury deliberated only five minutes before rendering a verdict of not guilty.[36]

On the day after his acquittal David Nelson issued a statement, widely publicized in the press, giving his version of the occurrence in answer to the "grossest misrepresentations published in Knoxville and in Alabama at the time of the incident." His story coincided with that of witness Caldwell that his first shot was accidental and that his second was in self defense after Clanton had fired. He concluded:

> For nearly two years I have rested under these imputations that the greatest injustice had been done me. . . . It is, and always will be, a source of deep regret to me that Gen. Clanton fell by my hand. . . . I had no malice against him. . . , but I think it will be clear to everyone who reads the evidence that if he had not fallen, I would have been killed the next instant.[37]

The reaction to the trial was immediately unfavorable in Alabama. It was claimed that Alabama lawyers for the prosecution were never notified of the time of the trial, and that Attorney General James N. Ray, the sole prosecutor, was a law partner of Nelson's brother.[38] "It is very plain," said the Montgomery *Advertiser,* "that the prosecution was a mere farce."[39]

Upon the face of the evidence obtainable it would appear obvious that the principal arguments in the trial emphasized Clanton's reputation as a reckless and dangerous man and depicted Nelson as fighting purely in self defense. One can only conjecture as to what maneuvering occurred behind the scenes prior to the actual trial. Some letters to T. A. R. Nelson would indicate that a strenuous effort had been made to justify the son's actions. Said one correspondent to Nelson, "He [Clanton] was a bully and

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[34]Knoxville *Chronicle,* May 29, 1873. See very brief statements in Knoxville *Press and Herald,* May 27, 28, 29, 30, 1873. A careful search of the court records failed to uncover any verbatim testimony.

[35]Knox County Criminal Court Record, 1872-1873, pp. 317-18; Knoxville *Press and Herald,* May 28, 1873.

[36]Knoxville *Chronicle,* May 31, 1873; Knoxville *Press and Herald,* May 28, 1873.

[37]Knoxville *Chronicle,* June 1, 1873.

[38]Montgomery *Advertiser,* June 7, 1873; Columbus (Georgia) *Sun* quoted in Mobile *Register,* June 7, 1873.

[39]Montgomery *Advertiser,* June 1, 1873.

a brute and . . . pursued his enemies with the venom of a blood hound and with a cruelty without measure."[40] Judge Nelson had resigned from the supreme court shortly after the killing not only because he felt obligated to do so under the circumstances but also to devote his full time to his son's defense.[41]

There is no denying the fact that Clanton assumed the role of martyr in the eyes of most Alabama Democrats. Since he evidently left no estate, the state purchased a house for his family and adopted his three sons as "educational wards," guaranteeing them four years at the University.[42] In April, 1873, the Alabama legislature named a thriving town, not far from Montgomery, in honor of the slain hero.[43] When renovations in 1941 caused Clanton's portrait, the only one in the Alabama house of representatives, to be removed, a newspaper remarked that such an action would have caused a riot in Montgomery sixty years previously.[44]

In 1871 Alabama certainly lost one of its most vigorous and aggressive leaders. Clanton appears to have been a victim of circumstances rather than of any deep-dyed political plot. There is no denying that his sudden death disrupted the Democratic Conservative political strategy in Alabama. He had been the dominant leader of that group since 1866 and undoubtedly would have advanced much further in his political career. To say that this incident explains the Democratic defeat in the state elections of 1872 would be unwarranted. It did, however, contribute to that defeat and, along with the questionable handling of Nelson's trial, increased further the bitter feelings so characteristic of the Reconstruction period.

In Tennessee the affray resulted in a loss by the people of the state of the services as a supreme court justice of one of its most talented lawyers and political leaders — a man who had served as one of Andrew Johnson's counsels in his impeachment trial. Whether or not his succumbing to cholera in 1873 was due in part to a weakness brought about by his worry and exertions in connection with his son's trial, is of course merely a matter of conjecture. At the time of his death his friends

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[40]P. Turney to T. A. R. Nelson, October 8, 1871, and W. R. Sevier to Nelson, October 9, 1871, T. A. R. Nelson Papers (Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee).

[41]Alexander, "Strange Bedfellows," *loc. cit.*, 89. The judge died from cholera in August, 1873, soon after the trial had been concluded. *Ibid.*, 90; Oliver P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee* (New York, 1912), 178, 180.

[42]Montgomery *Advertiser*, December 5, 1871, June 7, 1873; *Report of the Trustees of the University of Alabama*, 1876, pp. 7-8.

[43]*Acts . . . of the General Assembly of Alabama*, 1872-1873, pp. 289-93. Clanton, ironically, is the seat of a county that in recent years has often been Republican dominated.

[44]*Alabama Journal*, January 22, 1941.

were still expecting from him important political leadership in the formation of some kind of a Conservative party in the state.[45] It is also unknown whether or not, at the time of the unfortunate affair, David M. Nelson had any ambitions to follow in his father's footsteps and enter the political field. If he did, those hopes were completely blasted. So far as is known, he never ran for any political office. Although the family has continued to make important contributions in other ways, the name Nelson never again attained prominence in the political history of Tennessee.[46]

This shooting affray along with its repercussions well illustrates the extremes of bitterness engendered during the war and Reconstruction period. Knoxville and East Tennessee had been living in an atmosphere of tension for an entire decade, and Alabama was still in the throes of reconstruction. It was perhaps inevitable that tempers were short and the tendency to resort to violence difficult to restrain. Thus the affair may be viewed to a large extent as a product of the times.

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[45]Alexander, "Strange Bedfellows," *loc. cit.*, 90.

[46]See sketch of T. A. R. Nelson in Mary U. Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country: A History of Knox County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1946), 462-63.

THE EAST TENNESSEE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 1903-1954

By Frank B. Williams, Jr.

When Sam E. Hill, Knox County superintendent of schools, called to order a meeting of East Tennessee teachers in Morristown, May 12, 1905, he began a series of annual meetings that has continued, except for two brief interruptions, for half a century. The growth of the East Tennessee Education Association from its conception in 1903, when eighteen men met in Professor P. P. Claxton's office on the campus of the University of Tennessee,[1] to 1953, when it had 9,800 dues-paying members, is an involved story. In the early days, teachers, as a group, were not well qualified for their positions and had few professional interests, so the association's activity was confined largely to annual meetings which were little more than pep rallies where local school administrators and dignitaries made inspirational addresses in the general sessions and discussed common problems in departmental meetings. Gubernatorial incumbents were persuaded to show themselves at the meetings, where they at least paid lip-service to the cause of education. State superintendents of public instruction usually explained their immediate goals and their dreams of the future.

The people of the twentieth century have produced a complex society which requires an ever-expanding system of schools. This growth can be followed as the East Tennessee Education Association has added new departments.[2] Trends in pedagogy are obvious both to neophyte and master as they survey the printed programs accumulated over a fifty-year period. The teachers gained numerical strength, cast aside their timidity on occasion, and appointed resolutions committees to voice their complaints. Legislative committees conferred, cooperated, and sometimes compromised with members of the general assembly to secure needed laws. As more money became available, speakers with nation-wide reputations appeared in Knoxville to address the assembled teachers.

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[1]Typescript copy of an address by Samuel H. Thompson to East Tennessee Education Association, October 31, 1931, in the Files of the East Tennessee Education Association (Charles C. Sherrod Library, East Tennessee State College, Johnson City, Tennessee). Hereinafter the files will be referred to as ETEA Files. Also P. P. Claxton to Mack P. Davis, January 13, 1954, *ibid.* Among the eighteen men who planned the meeting were P. P. Claxton, professor of education, University of Tennessee, Sidney G. Gilbreath and R. L. Jones of Chattanooga, Samuel H. Thompson, Sam E. Hill, and S. G. Heiskell of Knoxville, Seymour A. Mynders of Nashville, S. T. Wilson of Maryville College, W. E. Stephens of Rhea County, M. D. Jeffries, A. H. Tipton, and J. C. Wright whose addresses are unknown. Knoxville *Sentinel*, December 19, 1903; Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, December 13, 19, 1903; address of Samuel H. Thompson, *loc. cit.*

[2]In 1909 the departments of the association included primary, grammar school, high school, and college and university teachers. Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, April 10, 1909. In 1954 thirty-six departments were represented in the association.

Annual meetings required many months, frequently a year, of planning, and they became recognized as among the best of their type in the United States. Special study-groups and a research committee investigated local educational problems. Teachers in East Tennessee worked throughout the years with similar groups in West and Middle Tennessee and with the Tennessee Education Association. Sometimes the rank and file in the association took it upon themselves to change their constitution; at other times they followed the recommendations of their duly elected representatives and made alterations. Sectional jealousy, unfortunately, all but disrupted the association at infrequent intervals. It is the purpose of this study to examine in critical detail these developments in the East Tennessee Education Association.

The birth-date of the East Tennessee Education Association, as that of many eras, movements, trends, and organizations, may be arbitrarily selected. The association had its beginnings on December 19, 1903, when a conference of teachers and superintendents, called by P. P. Claxton, met in Knoxville. When the meeting was announced, a newspaper reporter predicted that the East Tennessee Teachers Association, which had met once in 1895, would be reorganized.[3] Instead, another conference was called in 1904, when the old association was revived. Out of this meeting came plans for the Morristown assembly of May, 1905, where the teachers were presented with a new constitution, a slate of officers, and a program.[4]

The association met annually with the exceptions of 1907 and 1918; in the former year the state legislature was in session, and it may be that the leaders were in Nashville;[5] in the latter year, an influenza epidemic

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[3]Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, December 17, 1903, and Knoxville *Sentinel*, December 23, 1904. Claxton recalled that the association was formed, and he was elected president. P. P. Claxton to Mack P. Davis, January 13, 1954, ETEA Files. Claxton's statement conflicts with contemporary newspaper accounts. The old association was not revived, and Claxton was not elected president. See also Knoxville *Sentinel*, December 18, 1903.

[4]In December, 1904, the Second Annual East Tennessee Educational Conference was held in Knoxville. The teachers in attendance appointed a committee "to arrange for a meeting in April or May, 1905, at which a call will be issued for a reorganization of the" old East Tennessee Teachers' Association. Knoxville *Sentinel*, December 23, 1904. The constitution for the new association appeared in the Knoxville *Journal and Tribune* on May 4, 1905. The Morristown meeting was called to order by Sam E. Hill, superintendent of Knoxville schools, on May 12, 1905. Hill, S. H. Johnson, and William Lyle were appointed to draft a constitution; they recommended the draft that had appeared in the newspapers. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1905. Hill also served as chairman of the program committee. S. G. Gilbreath spoke on "Conditions of Schools in East Tennessee"; Wycliffe Rose spoke on "Training Schools for Teachers"; Brown Ayres' topic was "The Relation of Public Schools to the Universities and Colleges." The Executive Committee included Sam E. Hill, R. L. Jones, J. R. Lowry, W. L. Wallace, and W. S. Gass, Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, May 4, 13, 14, 1905.

[5]P. P. Claxton to Mary Allison Goodhue, February 25, 1907, P. P. Claxton Papers (Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee).

kept the teachers at home.[6] Instead of the regular three-day sessions, only one-day meetings were held in 1943 and 1944 because of the wartime difficulty of travel and the lack of hotel accomodations; despite protests from the Office of Defense Transportation, the executive committee insisted that the meetings were essential to hold the organization together.[7] All of the meetings have been held in Knoxville except in 1905, 1906, 1912, and 1914, when Morristown, Jefferson City, Johnson City, and Chattanooga, respectively, were hosts.[8] The meeting in 1954 was the forty-eighth if the date of birth is accepted as May 4, 1905, in Morristown; on the other hand, 1895, 1903, or 1904 can be used as beginning dates.

Tennesseeans confronted problems not unlike those faced by educators in other parts of the United States at the turn of the century, and especially were they similar to those in neighboring states.[9] The history of Tennessee's public school system has been written by others,[10] but a brief review of the major themes will provide the necessary backdrop for the rise of the East Tennessee Education Association.

Civil war and reconstruction retarded the development of public schools in the South,[11] so it was not until the turn of the century that a handful of educators began the modernization of Tennessee's school system. Two barriers were indifference and opposition to the consolidation of schools, compulsory attendance laws, high schools, better-trained teachers, heavier tax levies, and county teachers' associations were needed generally.

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[6]Report of Secretary, October 27, 1919, Cashbook of the Treasurer ETEA Files.

[7]Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 29, 1943, and October 26, 1944; Minutes of the Executive Committee, April 3, 1943, August 12, 1943, March 25, 1944, July 21, 1944, ETEA Files. In 1945, before V J-Day, the executive committee was troubled by the attitude of the Office of Defense Transportation. One member bitterly complained, "If we could call the meeting a horse race or a physical fitness camp, I am sure we could have no difficulty, but matters relating to education, including college commencements, do not seem to merit equal consideration." David A. Lockmiller to David Sinclair Burleson, June 8, 1945, ETEA Files.

[8]Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, May 4, 1905, May 13, 1906; Sidney G. Gilbreath, First Annual Report of the East Tennessee State Normal School, *Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1911-1912* (Nashville, 1912), 308; Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, April 12, 1914.

[9]See Charles W. Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1936); Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States* (Boston, 1941), and *Public Education in the South* (Boston, 1922); Edgar W. Knight and Clifton L. Hall (eds.), *Readings in American Educational History* (New York, 1951); Ellwood P. Cubberly, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston, 1934).

[10]See Andrew D. Holt, *The Struggle for a State System of Public Schools in Tennessee, 1903-1936* (New York, 1938), and Robert H. White, *Development of the Tennessee State Educational Organization, 1796-1929* (Nashville, 1929).

[11]See Edgar W. Knight, *The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South* (New York, 1913); also Morgan C. Fitzpatrick, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Tennessee for the Scholastic Year Ending June 30, 1901*, p. 19, and Holt, *The Struggle for a State System of Public Schools*, 116. Hereinafter reports of state superintendents will be cited as *Annual Reports* (year).

A major problem was the training of teachers, and it was partially solved in three ways. The Summer School of the South at the University of Tennessee was organized by P. P. Claxton in 1902. Teachers from East Tennessee, from other parts of the state, and, indeed, from other states in the South attended its sessions.[12] But all of the teachers who needed more training were not able to attend the Knoxville institution. The state, with the help of the Peabody Fund, provided summer institutes of four to six weeks' duration in a number of conveniently located cities. Finally, each county superintendent was expected to conduct, with the help of his better-trained teachers who often were assisted by one or more outstanding educators supplied by the state, an institute that lasted for two weeks. Inasmuch as more than half of the ten thousand teachers in the state were not qualified for their positions,[13] they were required to attend county institutes in order to pass the annual examinations. Institutes offered nothing more than superficial reviews of physiology, agriculture, geology, physics, United States history, Tennessee history, school management, geometry, pedagogy, arithmetic, civics, bookkeeping, reading, spelling, geography, rhetoric, and algebra.[14] Many teachers, said the county superintendents, expected passing grades because of their political influence, or simply because they attended.[15] Some superintendents reported that time was wasted by listening to vociferations of local politicians, "popular entertainment features," "vocal gymnastics," "screaming solos," and "dreadful duets."[16] Cheating on examinations was a serious problem,[17] and cases of graft and bribery, as well as cases of students' paying substitutes to take examinations, were not unknown.[18] One local administrator with "Progressive" tendencies declared that "due credit was given the teachers in their examinations for their deportment and punctuality."[19]

All of the institutes were not travesties, and many staff members took their work seriously. One conductor of a state institute reported in 1901 that he found that nearly thirty-two per cent of his students failed be-

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[12]Typescript account of the Summer School of the South, Claxton Papers.

[13]R. L. Jones, state superintendent of public instruction, quoted in Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, May 20, 1909.

[14]Seymour A. Mynders, *Annual Report* (1904), 106, 109, 113, 130, 141, 155; *ibid.* (1906), 225, 237. The Shelby County institute was more advanced and offered natural science, history of education, and "Shakespeare and [*sic*] Intensive Study of His Plays, Poetry, and Literature."*Ibid.* (1905), 266-67.

[15]Fitzpatrick, *Annual Report* (1901), 135; *ibid.* (1902), 165; Mynders, *Annual Report* (1906), 269-70.

[16]Fitzpatrick, *Annual Report* (1902), 173; Mynders, *Annual Report* (1906), 246, 315.

[17]*Ibid.* (1905), 242; J. W. Brister, *Biennial Report* (1912), 527.

[18]Charles A. Whittle to P. P. Claxton, January 4, 1911, Claxton Papers.

[19]Fitzpatrick, *Annual Report* (1901), 205.

cause they were deficient in reading, writing, spelling, and composition.[20] Another concientious examiner said that one-third of his class failed the examinations.[21] "[School]-keepers," declared another, were eliminated.[22]

Superintendent Seymour A. Mynders cautioned conductors of county and state institutes, in 1905, to pass only those "thoroughly qualified" and warned about cheating. A general average of eighty-five was required for passing, and no one who made below fifty was to be passed in any examination. Inability to spell and write correctly, Mynders ordered, should automatically disqualify a teacher in any subject.[23] County administrators who followed Mynders' instructions found themselves in difficulty. One said that the teachers were "somewhat aroused" by the strict examination.[24] Another reported that he did not have enough qualified teachers after the examination, and he had to hire some who failed.[25] Had the orders been rigidly enforced, Mynders said, forty per cent of the schools in the state would have been without teachers.[26]

Despite cheating, hymn-singing, and oratory, the institutes were the best answer to the problem of training teachers in the absence of normal school and college graduates. Leaders in the educational movement in Tennessee simply had to do the best they could under the circumstances while they planned for the future.

Many parents did not recognize the importance of educating their children, and, consequently, the latter were not forced to attend district schools. Annual reports of some county superintendents stand as examples of impotent rage when the men described the lack of interest in public education. It is possible that poorly qualified teachers killed any enthusiasm parents may have had for training their progeny; perhaps those who were interested patronized private schools. Be that as it may, many superintendents advocated the passage of local compulsory attendance laws applicable to their own counties. At the same time, other local administrators, fearing the wrath of their constitutents if they resorted to local bills, urged the state superintendent to secure a state-wide compulsory attendance law.[27]

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[20]*Ibid.*, 134.
[21]Mynders, *Annual Report* (1903), 216.
[22]*Ibid.*, 189.
[23]*Ibid.* (1905), 369-70.
[24]*Ibid.*, 230.
[25]*Ibid.*, 232.
[26]*Ibid.*, 21.
[27]*Ibid.*, 151, 157, 257, 263; *ibid.* (1906), 321. Compulsory attendance was a subject for debate in academic circles. Two students in the Winchester (Tennessee) Normal were assigned the subject for formal argument. The young people sought the advice of P. P. Claxton, a leading exponent of compulsory education. He advised the student who had the negative side that he had no data to support that point of view, but Claxton sent pamphlets that explained why such a law was desirable. Claxton to C. O. Ruch, April 7, 1908; Claxton to W. Henry Templeton, April 9, 1908, Claxton Papers.

Rural schools with few pupils cost money that could have been more wisely appropriated in other communities. The obvious answer to this problem was consolidation, but, like attendance laws, it was rabidly opposed. As early as 1901, however, a few hardy men encouraged the "consolidation of schools and the building of more commodious houses." In 1904 Mynders ordered county superintendents to dispense with those schools where attendance did not justify their existence and to send the pupils elsewhere. In many cases schools were centers of community life and offered the only opportunity, other than the churches and crossroads-stores, for people to come together occasionally; therefore, patrons objected when their schools were closed. The problem was solved in various ways: some local authorities ignored Mynders' order; others ruthlessly eliminated weak schools, reassigned pupils, and joyfully used the money thus saved to strengthen their systems; still others were more evolutionary in their approach, moved cautiously and judiciously, and did not antagonize many patrons.[28]

An important factor in any organization is the morale of the members. The individual must feel that he is a part of a group that has done or is doing important work. This phase of teacher education was promoted on the local level by superintendents who formed county teachers' associations. Annual reports, after 1901, vividly portrayed the increased enthusiasm for such organizations. These "locals" encouraged what has since been called in-service training when they established reading circles. School-improvement associations were organized for parents. The steady growth of county associations undoubtedly contributed to the interest shown in regional and state organizations.[29]

The major problem faced by administrators and teachers alike was — and is — a lack of money. When the average salary was $31.16 a month in 1900, $34.89 in 1905, and $40.90 in 1910,[30] only incompetents, mediocrities, and a few dedicated souls were willing to "keep" schools. Money was so scarce that some county superintendents called attention to their generosity when they furnished teachers with record blanks without charge, and the purchase of "patent" desks was a big moment in the lives of others. School terms varied in length from three to six months, so the annual salary of an average teacher was never above the subsistence

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[28]Fitzpatrick, *Annual Report* (1901), 219; Mynders, *Annual Report* (1904), 247, 279, 285; *ibid.* (1905), 178, 272.

[29]Fitzpatrick, *Annual Report* (1901), 224; *ibid.* (1902), 163; Mynders, *Annual Report* (1903), 186, 196, 218; *ibid.* (1905), 203; *ibid.* (1906), 328, 330, 333, 337, 341, 344, 347, 353.

[30]Fitzpatrick, *Annual Report* (1902), 26; Mynders, *Annual Report* (1905), 166, 170, 206, 208, 254; Jones, *Biennial Report* (1909-1910), 44.

level. It is a wonder that teachers were able to flock to institutes and summer schools — even for two weeks![31]

The quality of instruction caused almost as much concern as training, pay, and organization of teachers. Mynders blasted away at the lack of knowledge exhibited by pupils who were trained in public schools. His admonition is so timely, in view of the attack on public education in the last half of the twentieth century, that it may be quoted in full:

> The most urgent need in our public school system today is more thorough work in the elementary branches, such as spelling, reading, language, arithmetic, history and geography. The truth must be faced that these subjects are neglected in the everlasting pushing of the child into higher grades, and the great amount of supplementary work attempted. These defects are not local but general. An examination of the papers of the fifth and sixth grades in city or rural schools in any section will demonstrate the truth of this statement. The lack of practical knowledge of the principles of the subjects mentioned is shown by the large number of applicants who fail on teachers' examinations and university entrance examinations. In the papers of applicants for teachers' certificates, bad grammar, worse spelling and a careless knowledge of history and geography abound. Our high schools and colleges are hampered in their training work by having first to drill an adequate knowledge of fundamentals into pupils who come bringing certificates from primary and secondary schools.
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> The cry for "enlarged curriculum" has led to the neglect of drills in the elementary branches. The time of teachers and pupils in our schools is filled to overflowing, and if more work is added it must follow as a principle of natural law that something must be displaced. Once learning a subject is not enough to fix it in a young child's mind. It must be reiterated until he is familiar with every phase of the subject and this requires time. It has been urged that correlation will make up for much of the lack of proper drills in the fundamental branches. In the work of skilled teachers this may be in part true, but with the great majority of our public school teachers correlation is an "unknown art" . . . . Superintendents, teachers and directors have no more important duty than guarding against overcrowding of courses of study and neglect of the essential fundamental [*sic*] branches.[32]

P P. Claxton agreed with Mynders that the curriculum was overcrowded, teachers were unskilled, and correlation of material was not

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[31]For statistics comparing the status of Tennessee's schools with the nation as a whole in 1899-1900 and in 1949-1950, see United States Office of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1909* (Washington, 1910), II, 605, 615; United States Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States* (Washington, 1953), 15-16; Tennessee Department of Education, *Annual Report* (Nashville, 1950), 44, 45, 48.

[32]Mynders, *Annual Report* (1904), 22-23.

to be found. He added several other criticisms. School work was divorced from home — and life — interests; children were exposed to learning for which neither age nor experience had equipped them; and, finally, there was "the absurd American custom of promoting children from one grade to another and not promoting the teacher with them."[33]

Several, if not all, of the problems described above clearly stemmed from a citizenry with little or no interest in public education. The leaders in the development of public schools organized rallies in all parts of the state, and skilled orators emphasized the conditions that prevailed in the school system.[34] The men who bore the brunt of the campaign travelled by train, steamboat, buggy, horseback, and on foot to reach their audiences. They spoke in one-room schools, at county fairs, on college campuses, in courthouses, on the steps of crossroads-stores, and in city auditoriums. One of the originators of the movement recalled an occasion when he braved a flooded creek, stalled his Ford in a mudhole, and made his way on foot to a rural school where he found his audience of wool-hat boys waiting patiently, although it was eleven o'clock at night. Hungry, muddy, and weary, he delivered his speech.[35]

Above has been described briefly the condition of public education in the years when the East Tennessee Eudcation Association was organized and began its steady growth, both in size and influence. That it was a part of a larger movement is readily seen; at the same time, the association through its founders, the men who succeeded them, and its membership, aided the movement of which it was a part. This, however, is a subject that will be developed in succeeding pages. While the East Tennessee Education Association passed through its adolescence, the immediate success of the men who embraced the cause of education — and some of them had organized the regional associations — can be measured in larger appropriations, more fervent declarations of candidates for public office that they were friends and fellow-workers of teachers, establishment of normal schools which presumably graduated better-trained teachers, better school plants, and enlarged curricula — in spite of Mynders' warnings. An improvement in the morale of teachers no doubt was reflected by increased membership in professional associations, local and regional.

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[33]Claxton to William W. Black, November 10, 1910, Claxton Papers.

[34]This period, 1903-1913, has been described as the "Campaign Era." Holt, *The Struggle for a State System of Public Schools*, 91.

[35]Interview with Sidney G. Gilbreath, Hiwassee Hill, Johnson City, Tennessee, January 12, 1954. For this campaign see also Charles S. Lewis, *Philander Priestly Claxton: Crusader for Public Education* (Knoxville, 1948). The interest of the yeomanry in education began in the 1880's and 1890's when the Farmers' Alliance and Populist movements reached their zeniths.

The constitution of an organization, together with amendments that are added subsequently, can be used to show the spirit of the times. So it is with the charter of the East Tennessee Education Association. The original document apparently owed its wording in whole or in part to Sam E. Hill, P. P. Claxton, Sidney G. Gilbreath, R. L. Jones, Fred B. Frazier, W. L. Wallace, J. R. Lowry, S. T. Wilson, W. S. Gass, Samuel H. Johnson, and William Lyle.[36] The name of the organization was East Tennessee Teachers' Association; dues were one dollar a year; the five members of the executive committee were elected annually as were other officers. Annual meetings were held in May "at some convenient point in East Tennessee"; the executive committee determined the place and date of meeting. The purpose of the organization was to foster education in East Tennessee.[37] Just how this aim was to be achieved was not spelled out. Perhaps S. G. Heiskell, a Knoxville attorney, expressed the idea when he told the men who responded to Claxton's first invitation: "If you expect to do anything, you've got to be an educational politician. It is no discredit to go out and work at the polls for legislators who will vote for the education of the children."[38]

By 1915 the name had been changed to East Tennessee Educational Association. Dues were reduced to fifty cents. The executive committee still determined the place of meeting, but the time had been changed to the three days preceding Easter. The president and vice-president served on the executive committee; regular members of the committee served two-year terms. New departments were authorized by the executive committee.[39]

Six years later, the charter had more alterations. Dues were one dollar. Knoxville was specified as the place of meeting because of its

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[36]Hill, Jones, Gilbreath, Frazier, Wallace, Lowry, Gass, and Wilson were members of the executive committee. Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, May 12, 1905. The committee on the constitution included Hill, Johnson, and Lyle. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1905. Inasmuch as the men listed above worked together — Claxton's correspondence has many references to them, although little was found about the East Tennessee Teachers' Association — it seems safe to say that they collaborated on constitution-writing.

[37]Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, May 4, 1905.

[38]*Ibid.*, December 19, 1903. David S. Burleson, who served as executive secretary from 1915 to 1920 and from 1922 to 1947 and did more than any other individual to make the association what it is, defined the aims and objectives as follows: It endeavors to bring to the teachers of East Tennessee the very highest quality of program in order to acquaint the teachers with the outstanding movements and developments in education. The interest and enthusiasm aroused at the annual meetings are used to promote the study of problems in education. The association works with regional and state associations to develop a unified and improved school system. Undated typescript on the aims and objectives of the East Tennessee Education Association in possession of Miss Christine Burleson, Johnson City, Tennessee.

[39]Constitution of East Tennessee Educational Association (1915) in Cashbook of the Treasurer, ETEA Files.

central location and accomodations.[40] The time of meeting was fixed as "the last Thursday in October and continuing through Friday and Saturday."[41] The latter change was made, according to David Sinclair Burleson, so teachers could take home some of the ideas of the speakers and apply them in their classrooms.[42] Three vice-presidents were to be elected; this change was made, in all probability, to alleviate the sectionalism that arose from time to time. The executive committee was given "general oversight of affairs," and two of its members with the president and secretary constituted a program committee. The membership of the executive committee was reduced to five: president, secretary, treasurer, and two members elected at a general meeting. The secretary's work had become so time-consuming that he was allotted twenty per cent of the gross annual receipts to defray clerical expenses. The amending process remained the same; that is, two-thirds of the members present had to approve any constitutional change. The method of selecting officers was clarified because of a disagreement in 1920.[43] The new amendment limited nominations for an office to five names; they were to be submitted not later than nine o'clock on the night of the first general session; nominating speeches could not exceed two minutes. On Friday, locked ballot boxes were to be placed in convenient spots, and would-be voters had to submit membership cards which would be punched for identification.[44]

Originals of the various constitutions have not been preserved in the files of the association, and their unavailability presented a minor problem in the wording of the purpose of the organization reminiscent in some ways of *Animal Farm*. [45] According to the constitution printed in the official program of 1921, the aim of the association was "to encourage and promote education in Tennessee." In 1922 the clause was changed "to encourage and promote educational [*sic*] in Tennessee." The next year it read, "to encourage and promote educational work in Tennessee." The wording remained unchanged thirty-two years later. The clause never

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[40]The schools and churches of Knoxville were first used for the meetings. The first meeting held on the University of Tennessee campus was in 1924. Knoxville *Sentinel*, October 30, 1924.

[41]Revised Constitution, Official Program (1921). All official programs hereinafter cited are in ETEA Files.

[42]Knoxville *Journal*, October 30, 1937.

[43]A. C. Duggin of Greeneville suggested an amendment to the constitution so officers could be elected at the Friday night session; C. C. Sherrod, the presiding officer, ruled that notice to amend had to be given a year in advance. Duggin claimed that notice had been given; Sherrod ruled him out of order. Duggin appealed from the decision of the chair and won 169-148. Before further business was transacted, someone moved that the guest speaker be heard. Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, October 30, 1920.

[44]Revised Constitution, Official Program (1921). Such elaborate precautions suggest that fraudulent ballots had been cast in the past.

[45]George Orwell, *Animal Farm* (New York, 1946).

had been amended; the error probably was made by a printer. The change, however, did not materially alter the meaning.

In 1927 additional changes were made in the charter. A legislative committee of seven members was created. The committee members were to recommend "needed educational legislation, . . . endeavor to have enacted into law all proposed legislation. . . . [and] confer with all other Legislative Committees appointed by school organizations in the state . . . ."[46] This amendment was bitterly opposed by some members who "loathed 'going into politics,' " On the other hand, proponents of the measure explained that teachers were not consulted when the general assembly enacted legislation that affected schools; on the contrary, laws were framed by a few men who advised the governor. An active legislative committee would develop a "continuing policy."[47] Another amendment was necessary because of the growth of the association; the secretary was to receive twenty per cent of the annual gross receipts for his personal services, and additional funds were provided for clerical hire.[48]

Still other changes came later. The name of the organization was changed to East Tennessee Education Association, and it was incorporated under state laws in 1930.[49] The former change was made to conform to the titles of the National and Tennessee Education Associations, and the latter indicated growth in membership and increased financial responsibilities of the secretary and treasurer. Legal safeguards afforded by incorporation were necessary.[50] Two years later the legislative committee was reorganized with five members: one city superintendent, one county superintendent, one principal, one classroom teacher, and a college teacher or administrator. They were elected annually.[51] The change was made at the nadir of the Great Depression, when the state treasury was empty, when county warrants were discounted by loan sharks, and when teachers were destitute. State legislators, executives, and administrators seemed to be paralyzed. The amendment gave representation to each group in the association, and the members of the committee worked with legislators when the general assembly was in session. This change was opposed by those teachers who still believed that they should not participate in politics.[52]

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[46]Revised Constitution, Official Program (1929).
[47]Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 30, 1927.
[48]Revised Constitution, Official Program (1929).
[49]*Ibid.* (1931). Also see Minutes of the Executive Committee, November 16, 1929, October 29, 1930, ETEA Files.
[50]Interviews with Burgin E. Dossett, April 6, 1954, and Miss Christine Burleson, June 6, 1954; C. E. Rogers to Frank B. Williams, Jr., undated manuscript, ETEA Files.
[51]Revised Constitution, Official Program (1933).
[52]Interview with Burgin E. Dossett, April 6, 1954.

In 1937 nominations for any office were limited to five, and the time for nominations was to be "at the initial meeting . . . each year." Twelve months later, the executive committee was enlarged to include six members: the president, immediate past president, executive secretary, treasurer, and two members "selected by the association, one each year to serve for two years"; the executive secretary of the Tennessee Education Association was to serve as an adviser without a vote. At the next meeting the vice-president was assigned to the executive committee.[53]

Election procedure was altered in 1943, and the executive committee members were authorized to open ballot boxes, count votes, and report results not later than ten o'clock Saturday morning. With the exception of the members of the executive committee, terms of office ran for one year.

Sporadic attempts to change the place of the annual meeting have met with failure. Usually the advocates of change came from lower East Tennessee and wanted Chattanooga to share both honors and trade with Knoxville.[54] The announcement that G. Bromley Oxnam was to address the teachers in October, 1946, aroused the editor of the Knoxville *Journal* and a minister of the gospel, both of whom waged a long and useless campaign against the Bishop.[55] As a result of the uncalled-for attack, an amendment was offered to make the executive committee responsible for selection of the meeting place. Knoxville teachers, however, defeated the proposal.[56]

The last major change in the charter came in 1947 when the executive committee was enlarged to include the president, vice-president, immediate past-president, executive secretary, treasurer, and one member each from lower, middle, and upper East Tennessee, respectively. David S. Burleson retired after thirty years as executive secretary, and his services were recognized by a provision that allowed any executive secretary who, upon retirement, had served as long as twenty years a place on the executive committee.[57] These changes gave the committee and the association the benefit of the counsels of experienced men.

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[53]Revised Constitution, Official Program (1940); see also Minutes of Executive Committee, October 28, 1938, and October 26, 1939. Inclusion of the executive secretary of the state association as a member of the executive committee is an example of the close cooperation which developed between the two agencies.

[54]Knoxville *Sentinel*, October 27, 1923; Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, November 1, 1929, October 30, 1931, October 27, 1932; Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, October 28, 1923. The *News* and *Sentinel* merged in 1926.

[55]This affair will be described in detail below.

[56]Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, November 2, 1946; David S. Burleson to T. C. Prince, November 12, 1946, ETEA Files. Inadequate facilities in the war years and the attitude of other groups in Knoxville also made the move seem desirable. The attitude of Knoxvillians later improved. C. E. Rogers to Frank B. Williams, Jr., undated manuscript, ETEA Files.

[57]Revised Constitution, Official Program (1947) and Minutes of Executive Committee, October 30, 1947.

According to the constitution "all white persons interested in the object of the Association" can become members. The majority have been teachers employed in the counties of East Tennessee. A few college and university students who considered themselves future teachers have paid dues, as have several friends of education. Membership in the association and attendance at the annual meetings usually have been voluntary, although a minority of superintendents have compelled their teachers to join and attend the conventions.[58]

The executive committee always has been the policy-making body of the association. In the early years, with the exception of the secretary and treasurer, the members of this committee changed with almost annual regularity. For the last twenty-five years, however, few changes have been made except for the president and vice-president. Classroom teachers, in the early days, held few offices, except, of course, where the constitution provided for their selection. In recent years committee appointments have broadened the base of representation,[59] and officers of departmental sections usually have been teachers. On the other hand, the presidents and vice-presidents usually have been superintendents or principals.[60]

This administrative domination should not arouse criticism. Many teachers move from one school to another and do not have time to organize a group of friends who can elect them to office. Then, too, the average teacher, even one with years of experience, has had few opportunities to expand her circle of friends outside of her immediate community, nor has she been able to display ability or poise where other teachers could be influenced. Administrators have usually served as teachers and in more responsible positions in the region for years and, consequently, have made friends and influenced their colleagues on all levels. Also classroom teachers have approved the leadership by consistent election to office, and the officers elected have been notable for their integrity, ability, and sincerity. On some occasions election contests have been spirited, but on

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[58]See letters in ETEA Files, *passim*. The 100 per cent membership and attendance reported for many school systems indicate the possibility of some indirect pressure's having been applied.

[59]Interview with Mack P. Davis, Executive Secretary of the East Tennessee Education Association, April 2, 1954.

[60]Minutes of Executive Committee, *passim;* Official Programs, *passim*.

others must less interest was shown. Usually, the number of teachers actually voting has been disappointingly small.[61]

The constitutional amendments show the steady growth of the teaching profession and the association. As teachers developed more of a professional attitude toward their work, they joined the organization. As the association grew, the constitution was amended to give wider representation on the committees and in the offices, especially on a sectional basis. The growth of the activities of the association as well as its membership was reflected in the amendment that provided for clerical hire and a salaried secretary. Incorporation of the association shows that it had financial maturity. Changes in the election procedure indicate a certain kind of political maturity. Finally, the appointment of a legislative committee shows that the teachers of East Tennessee had reached a stage of development when they could shed that timidity which all too often has characterized their profession.

The association relied primarily on membership dues to finance its different activities. This income was augumented slightly by donations from the Knoxville Chamber of Commerce and City Council and by fees paid by textbook publishers and purveyors of other school supplies for the privilege of exhibiting their wares. From 1909, when Sam E. Hill began a fifteen-year term as treasurer, to 1955, financial records have been preserved, and from the treasurers' annual reports it is possible to trace the rapid growth of the organization. The earliest record indicates the lowly beginnings when only 220 teachers contributed a dollar each to finance the program in 1909; the deficit that year was $15.95.[62] In 1910 there were 207 dues-paying members; the deficit amounted to $39.80. A year later the association paid its debts, financed its program, and had $15.87 in the bank. When Hill retired as treasurer in 1924, income was $4,140.31; disbursements amounted to $3,471.73, and the balance on hand was $668.58.[63] Joel N. Pierce, who served as treasurer from 1924 to 1926, turned over $1,702.18 to his successor, Joe Jennings.

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[61]In 1932 the vote for presidential candidates was 488-481. Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 29, 1932. In 1938, when more than 6,000 teachers were in Knoxville, the presidential vote was 992-557. Knoxville *Journal*, October 30, 1938. In 1941 the presidential vote was 784-445, and more than 7,000 members were in attendance. Report of the Election Committee, ETEA Files. Competition for office, however, seems to have been great; when the supply of candidates did not exceed the demand, a reporter was moved to comment: "Gone apparently are the days of heated, bitter East Tennessee Education Association politics. For the first time in thirty-eight years the state's biggest teacher organization of its kind selected a slate of officers, none of whom had any opposition . . . ." Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 30, 1942.

[62]See Cashbook of the Treasurer and Reports of the Treasurer, *passim*, for all financial data hereinafter cited.

[63]Receipts for each year included the balance carried over.

Treasurer Burgin E. Dossett, who served from 1929 to 1936, had to cope with the financial problems of the Great Depression. His report for 1930, when hard times began to multiply, shows that receipts amounted to $8,316.96; expenditures were $5,364.63; cash in the bank totaled $2,-952.33; and $1,000 was on time-deposit at four per cent. Despite bank failures, a few protested checks, and over-due county warrants that represented unpaid dues, Dossett reported that he had collected $11,730.38 in 1935-36 and had disbursed $5,310.52. John S. Humphreys assumed the duties of treasurer with a balance of $6,419.86. Fifteen years later, in 1953, Humphreys reported that receipts for the year amounted to $18,-005.85; expenditures were $11,942.92; and balance on hand was $2,-229.68. The association had $3,900 invested in the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Johnson City, and $3,520 in United States bonds. The fiscal records reflect wise handling of money and stand as additional proof that many in the teaching profession can make a dollar go farther than men with great reputations in the so-called business world.

Although a major portion of the income always was spent on annual meetings, the association financed other activities directly related to its professional interests. Research and legislative committees, for example, received definite assignments, and their studies extended over a long period. Contributions made by members of these committees deserve some attention.

At the first meeting of the Claxton group, in 1903, S. G. Heiskell said in effect that teachers should exercise their right of petition and perform their duty as electors to influence legislation. Just how the members of the East Tennessee Education Association did this before the legislative committee was organized was not found in official records. In all probability, because the legislative way of life has changed little, superintendents, principals, and teachers as a group and as individuals made their needs and wants known to their representatives before and after they were elected to office.

The legislative committee, it will be recalled, was organized in 1927 and reorganized in 1932, in spite of opposition by those who did not want teachers to go into politics. Throughout the years the different members of the committee worked with smiliar groups in other parts of the state and with the state association.[64] Sometimes the counties of East Tennessee were assigned to various members of the committee who conferred with candidates for the legislature, presented the ideas of the association, ascertained the points of view of the candidates, pooled their information,

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[64]Andrew D. Holt to David S. Burleson, July 1, 1946, November 27, 1946; David S. Burleson to Theron H. Hodges, November 27, 1946, ETEA Files.

and advised teachers to discuss pending legislation in their communities and to arouse patrons.[65] When the Eight-Point Program of the Tennessee Education Association was before the people in 1936, the East Tennesseeans appropriated $800.00 to carry on the work.[66] That same year the legislative committee members explained at the annual meeting how the opposition would try to divide the teachers and defeat the program.[67] A year later the committee was requested to submit recommendations for better distribution of tax funds for school purposes.[68] Again, the association appropriated money for winning and influencing support for a Nine-Point Program.[69] Members of the legislative committee journeyed to Nashville from time to time when the legislature was in session,[70] and the qualifications and attitudes of individual legislators were topics of discussion on occasion.[71] Once a sub-committee of the county superintendents of East Tennessee was appointed to win support for education bills.[72]

Difficulties arise when the work of the committee is appraised. East Tennesseeans collaborated with the Tennessee Education Association, and their success or failure was determined largely by the way legislators from other parts of the state, as well as those from the hills, voted. Then too, state solons, at times, have been dominated by chief executives.

As teaching allegedly became more of a science and less of an art, the East Tennessee Education Association diverted its attention and money to such things as studies by appropriate committees of curriculum, language, English, social science, and reading.[73] No reports, progress or final, of the first four committees were found in the official files; nor was the bulletin published by the curriculum group found, although it cost around $2,000.[74] A research committee was appointed in 1936. Under the direction of a few college and university professors who had several projects which were worth investigating, four research bulletins were published in a five-year period. The first bulletin (1940) summarized the results of reading tests given in several counties, and the committee members sug-

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[65]Report of Legislative Committee, 1936, ETEA Files.
[66]Minutes of Executive Committee, January 25, 1936, ETEA Files.
[67]Report of Legislative Committee, 1936.
[68]Report of Resolutions Committee, 1937, ETEA Files.
[69]Minutes of Executive Committee, November 14, 1938, January 21, 1939.
[70]*Ibid.*, June 18, 1936, January 21, 1939, February 15, 1940.
[71]*Ibid.*, January 20, 1940, July 10, 1940.
[72]*Ibid.*, February 15, 1940.
[73]*Ibid., passim.*
[74]The curriculum committee reported at a general meeting in 1927; the chairman stated that every county and city system in East Tennessee was from one to three years behind the standard; students were weak especially in the "fundamental subjects." Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 28, 1927. Bulletins published by the association were distributed among the teachers who wanted them.

gested ways for the improvement of reading skills.[75] In the second bulletin, the professors reported the results of standardized tests given in rural and urban schools of four counties and contrasted scores made by students in different environments.[76] If the teachers followed the recommendations for improvement, some good came from the study. The third publication was a continuation of the testing program. One examiner returned to the scene of his first research and found a little improvement, but the pupils continued to make low scores in reading, American history, arithmetic, and elementary science. On the high school level, the committee found that the weaknesses displayed by students in English and social studies called for a study of the materials and methods used in the courses. An investigator who studied the qualifications of biology teachers in East Tennessee declared that only eighteen per cent of those who taught the subject had majored in it.[77] The evidence does not show that the report brought about the employment of more and better-trained teachers. The fourth product of the research committee, a study of remedial reading, contained suggestions which, if followed, helped teachers; a study of freshman reading tests in two large institutions of higher learning also was reported.[78] "After 1945, the committee got on 'dead center,' " and the work was passed to Professor Joseph E. Avent at the University of Tennessee who was interested in a state-wide study of college freshmen.[79]

The work of the research committee had several good features. In the first place, the results of the testing programs were given to the teachers concerned, and remedial adjustments may have been made. Teachers and college students who assisted the members of the committee acquired experience in the use of tests. City and county administrators were encouraged to use standardized tests as a method of evaluating the work in their systems. Finally, the work laid the foundations for a state-wide testing program.[80]

Resolutions, usually submitted by a special committee each year and adopted by the assembled teachers, indicate the major reforms advocated by the association, as well as those actions of state officials to which the profession objected. The teachers endorsed federal aid to education no less than twelve times between 1935 and 1953.[81] The sales tax as a source of school revenue was eyed by the teachers as early as 1934; four years later,

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[75]*Research Bulletin of the East Tennessee Education Association*, I (1940), edited by Edgar W. Cook (n. p. and not copyrighted).
[76]*Ibid.*, II (1941).
[77]*Ibid.*, III (1942).
[78]*Ibid.*, IV (1945).
[79]V. F. Goddard to Mack P. Davis, December 29, 1953, ETEA Files.
[80]L. R. Wheeler to Frank B. Williams, Jr., April 20, 1954, ETEA Files.
[81]Reports of Resolutions Committees, *passim*.

the association again called attention to the tax, and after it was adopted in 1947, East Tennesseeans expressed their satisfaction.[82]

Teachers consistently approved the Tennessee Education Association's legislative programs on all points. Throughout the Depression Decade, teachers zealously watched state officials and protested when school funds were diverted to other purposes. Inadequate appropriations produced vocal reactions, and legislative threats to close the schools evoked a remonstrative howl. Reports of shortened school terms, reduced salaries, non-payment of school warrants, reduced teaching force, overcrowded classrooms, and the elimination of cultural subjects from the curriculum worked the resolutions committee overtime. Impoundment of school funds by a serious-minded budget director was too painful for the teachers to bear in silence.[83]

Other topics of interest to the members of the association should be mentioned. When the poll tax as a voting prerequisite became unpopular, the teachers declared that they favored the abolition movement, "provided that the loss of . . . revenue [was] replaced with funds from other sources."[84] Several years later the executive committee endorsed a proposed anti-poll tax amendment to the state constitution, along with other proposed amendments.[85] When compulsory military training seemed imminent, the association recommended a broadened Reserve Officers Training Corps program.[86] A shortage of elementary teachers did not go unnoticed, and students were advised to prepare for service in the lower grades.[87] At the beginning of the Korean Affair and with increased tension in Europe, the teachers resolved to emphasize democracy and Americanism on every grade-level and reaffirmed their belief in the "American Way of Life."[88] None of these terms was defined, however, so everyone was left free, apparently, to use his own interpretation. The teachers have not allowed the attack on public schools to pass without comment; they commended "lay persons" who opposed unjust attacks by "enemies of public education."[89] They declared that they "welcome all honest and constructive criticisms of our schools, but . . . unfounded, biased, and irresponsible attacks" were condemned.[90]

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[82]Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 27, 1934; Reports of Resolutions Committees, 1938, 1947.

[83]Minutes of the Executive Committee, October 31, 1931, October 29, 1932, October 31, 1936; Reports of Resolutions Committees, 1938, 1939.

[84]Report of Resolutions Committee, 1940.

[85]Minutes of the Executive Committee, October 27, 28, 1949.

[86]Report of Resolutions Committee, 1945.

[87]Minutes of Executive Committee, October 27, 1950.

[88]Reports of Resolutions Committees, 1950, 1952.

[89]*Ibid.*, 1952.

[90]*Ibid.*, 1951.

The famous Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, troubled the resolutions committee. John R. Neal, counsel for John T. Scopes, appeared before the committee with a statement which he wanted submitted to the assembled teachers. The declaration which Neal had prepared read, "We . . . view with alarm the recent action of the legislature in passing the anti-evolution law. We regard it as a direct violation of the freedom of the teacher to teach the truth as he understands it." The committee refused to endorse Neal's statement because the case was still in court and "the matter was not a subject to be decided by the association."[91]

It is difficult to gauge the effects of resolutions on the persons to whom they were directed; and, of course, organizations other than teachers' associations made similar recommendations. Teachers, like other people, were sensitive in the area of their pocketbooks, but state officials apparently ignored many of the recommendations of the association in the 1930's. Perhaps credit should be given to teachers for having the intestinal fortitude to protest. It is matter of record, however, that the sales tax was enacted into law and the Reserve Officers Training Corps program was expanded. "The enemies of public education" have not always been well identified. It remains to be seen how cordial a welcome will be extended to constructive criticism; the declaration of 1951 that "honest . . . criticisms" would be welcomed may be interpreted as an example of pedagogical genuflections before self-appointed witch-hunters in academic fields. The rebuff administered to Neal in the Scopes case was in keeping with a Casper Milquetoast personality so often associated with the teaching profession. A reason may be suggested: the organization was still in its adolescence, and the temper of fundamentalism made prudence synonymous with wisdom.

Annual meetings of the East Tennessee Education Association, like those of other professional groups, are useful in several ways. They generate enthusiasm. Members may be told of improvements in the profession. A large membership can impress the public in general and, sometimes, special groups in particular. The rank and file can approve or reject the work of special committees. The clock-like precision which characterized the yearly proceedings of the association was not noticed by thousands who attended, but guest speakers, veterans of many bouts with clammy green peas, cold potatoes, over-age spring chickens, and long-winded masters of ceremonies, have been impressed sufficiently to praise the men behind the scenes in Knoxville.[92] The presence of a particular speaker, on occasion, has been protested by people who believe that educators were

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[91]Knoxville *Sentinel*, October 31, 1925.
[92]Letters to Executive Secretary, *passim.*, ETEA Files.

more susceptible to so-called un-American ideas than ordinary folk. Subjects discussed in general sessions and departmental meetings showed professional, economic, social, and political problems in which teachers were interested. These and related topics now deserve some attention.

Teachers who regularly attended the meetings after 1920 were soon accustomed to salutations extended by Knoxville merchants via the newspapers, but the welcome mat has not always been so obvious. Miller's Department Store, for example, first extended greetings in 1917.[93] The proceedings did not make front-page news until 1921, and the first editorial expression of pleasure appeared at the same time.[94] For the last twenty years, annual sessions have been described fully by the newspapers, and the format has become standardized. Several teachers invariably were pictured at the registration desk. Young, pulchritudinous, and callipygous teachers were photographed window-shopping. The papers and their advertisers proclaimed that swarms of teachers descended upon the city. The bus station was usually good for a picture of suitcase-burdened women. Teachers refreshing themselves in cafeterias and restaurants were not overlooked. Better-known speakers were interviewed before they spoke. Hotels and motels were crowded. Photographs and interviews with the officers of the association became regular features. East Tennessee teachers took over the town, and merchants beamed with joy as they beheld the reckless abandon with which the members, their wives, husbands, and children spent their October checks.

Post-war teachers probably are not unlike their elders of the Jazz Age and the Lost Generation.[95] But none in recent years has attracted unfavorable attention in the press by locking a permanent guest out of his room at a "well known local hotel." And two women teachers did just that in 1923.[96] As in the "good old days," bell hops still rush madly about all through the night as they cater to the idiosyncrasies and vagaries of teachers out of sight of their more provincial patrons, pupils, and board members. Discreet photographers and reporters refrain from recording the activities of nocturnal prowlers who seek surcease from the tedium of the Three R's in places of mundane entertainment. Classmates gather for luncheons and dinners; and, although it has not been officially noticed, they have more private *téte a têtes*. Teachers, principals, and superintendents in search of greener pastures make the rounds among friends and acquaintances. And finally, hotel lobbies are used by candi-

[93]Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, October 26, 1917.
[94]*Ibid.*, October 28, 1921.
[95]The material in this paragraph is based on many years of observing the behavior of teachers.
[96]Knoxville *Sentinel*, October 26, 1923.

dates for office and their friends in search of uncommitted and uninstructed delegates who can be persuaded to take the trouble to vote in the Friday elections.

While old friendships were "revitalized" and "long-felt needs" for new ones were satisfied, the official program was followed with definiteness. General sessions have been conducted with dignity, luncheons and dinners served, departmental meetings passed smoothly, and visiting speakers entertained and made to feel at home. The executive secretary, the president, and local committees, meanwhile, coped with one minor crisis after another.

The annual meeting was the culmination of a year's work. As one convention ended, the executive secretary and executive committee planned for the next. In mid-winter they met with new departmental chairmen and canvassed the names of prominent men and women in education, politics, religion, business, and other fields of endeavor. The major qualification of these people, other than reputations, was the ability to express themselves without benefit of manuscripts; time and again Burleson declared that he wanted speakers not "readers" because "our people never seem to take" to readers "very much."[97] Lecturers, orators, speakers, spellbinders, and soporifics for the general sessions were selected by the secretary and executive committee. The secretary negotiated with speakers or their agents. Departmental chairmen were responsible for their programs, and sometimes two or more groups shared the expenses of prominent guests. The selection of each speaker, reaching a financial agreement with him, and preparation for his entertainment became an involved process that required an average of ten pieces of correspondence.[98] At times more complications arose when well-known lecturers demanded exhorbitant fees.[99] Some professionals with reputations for not filling engagements were approached with uncertainity; politicians were not good risks if Congress was in session or in an election year. By late summer, however, the program went to the printer; frequently departmental chairmen failed to advise the executive secretary of their plans, and more letter-writing became the order of the day at a time when nerves were frayed.

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[97]Burleson to Willis A. Sutton, May 16, 1946; Burleson to A. J. Stoddard, May 7, 1946; Burleson to Frank Bass, April 28, 1947; Burleson to Mary Bibb, June 29, 1946; John L. Erickson to Burleson, December 13, 1946; Burleson to Dayton Phillips, May 3, 1947, ETEA Files.

[98]Interview with Mack P. Davis, April 3, 1954.

[99]In the 1920's, average "name" speakers received $100-$150 and expenses. After World War II the price of top-flight speakers — senators, representatives, divines, travellers, commentators, and observers varies from $500 to $750. Departmental speakers — college professors and the like — used to get $15 and expenses; in the 1950's, they can get $50-$100 and expenses. Correspondence of Executive Secretaries and Minutes of the Executive Committee, *passim*.

Conversely, executive secretaries on rare occasions misplaced programs submitted by chairmen. As October neared, the exective secretary discovered that the butterflies in his stomach had developed into fullgrown tiger moths. About the same time, one or two lecturers cancelled their engagements, sometimes less than a week before the meeting. Other guests failed to inform the housing and entertainment committees of their plans, and more work had to be done.[100]

After the annual meeting had been called to order, more troubles arose. Platform guests had to be introduced, and they sometimes wanted to make speeches. Especially has this been true of major and minor politicians; a few invited themselves to the stage where they waved and smiled at friends in the audience. Once, when plans were really awry, political rivals found themselves together on the stage while they and the managers suffered embarrassment. Occasionally, locally prominent men invited to introduce featured speakers took advantage of their positions and usurped valuable time in useless oratory. Even paid guests forgot, at times, that the mind could absorb only what the seat could endure. It may be that lapses on the part of speakers contributed to teachers' wandering in and out of general sessions, to gum-snapping distractions, rustling of newspapers, and loud whisperings. Rude behavior of audiences aroused newspaper comment in 1932 and 1936[101] and attracted the attention of the executive committee in 1948 and 1950.[102]

Departmental meetings sometimes maintained only a surface smoothness. The same room might have been assigned to different groups; speakers were informally promised honoraria in excess of amounts set aside; larger audiences appeared than had been anticipated, or more space provided than was needed. When these and other difficulties rose, the executive secretary usually heard vocal protests and received epistolary condemnations.[103]

In spite of many crises, major and picayune, the annual gatherings generally were characterized by an outward calm. As was stated above, they came to be recognized as among the best teachers' meetings in the United States. The president, the executive secretary, and the executive and local committees have had to share their ulcers, miscellaneous miseries, and glows of satisfaction among themselves.

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[100]The impressions herein described were formed by reading the correspondence of the executive secretary and the minutes of the executive committee, and from numerous talks with Mack P. Davis.

[101] Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 28, 1932; *ibid.*, undated clipping in ETEA Files.

[102]Minutes of Executive Committee, June 19, 1948, December 9, 1950.

[103]Letters to Executive Secretary, *passim.*

Featured speakers employed for general sessions on at least three occasions met with opposition from one or more persons. When the announcement was made in 1935 that Governor Paul McNutt of Indiana would speak, the Chattanooga Trades and Labor Council sent resolutions of protest because McNutt was considered to be an enemy of organized labor.[104] The executive committee, however, overlooked the protest. In 1942 Hermann Rauschning, former president of the Danzig Senate who had quarreled with Adolph Hitler and fled, was scheduled to appear at the annual convention; two protests were lodged with the executive secretary who was instructed "to pay no heed to this matter."[105] Rauschning came and went despite threats against his safety.

The most violent opposition was met when Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church was invited to address the teachers in 1946. Several days after the announcement that the Bishop would speak,[106] the Knoxville *Journal* carried a front-page story in which attention was called to Oxnam's "remarkable affinity" with causes and organizations that were in sympathy with the objectives "of American Reds and World Communism."[107] An editor later explained that he was amazed when he heard that the Bishop was to speak in Knoxville; he believed that Oxnam was more dangerous than Earl Browder because the latter was a known Communist. The editor suggested that the invitation be withdrawn.[108] The Knoxville *News-Sentinel* dismissed the attack as "silly" and observed that it came "from a group that is intolerant of everything but its own convictions."[109] Readers of the two papers were not unduly disturbed if the absence of letters to the editors is a criterion; only two were found. A veteran of World War II who described himself as a "blue stocking Presbyterian" thought that Oxnam should be watched.[110] Another writer dismissed the matter because the members of the association were "capable of appraising" their speakers.[111]

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[104]Resolution in ETEA Files. McNutt had declared martial law in "certain parts of Indiana to prevent strikes and picketing." The Trades and Labor Council deplored "the appearance in the State of Tennessee of this enemy of free Americans and free labor" before the teachers whose duty it was "to advance the cause of democracy, freedom, and justice." See also Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 31, November 1, 1935.

[105]Minutes of Executive Committee, September 26, 1942; interview with Miss Christine Burleson, June 6, 1954. The minutes of the committee do not contain the reasons for the protests.

[106]Knoxville *Journal*, August 4, 1946.

[107]*Ibid.*, August 11, 1946.

[108]*Ibid.*, August 13, 1946.

[109]Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, August 29, 1946.

[110]*Ibid.*, September 3, 1946.

[111]*Ibid.*, August 22, 1946.

Late in August the executive committee unanimously approved a statement drafted by Burleson and authorized its publication.[112] Teachers, the Executive Secretary declared, were not incapable of thinking for themselves, and Onxam would be heard; ". . . if the charge that [Oxnam] has Communistic sympathies can be upheld, shall those who advocate freedom of the press deny to any citizen freedom of speech? . . . Only after Bishop Oxnam speaks," Burleson concluded, "can a just appraisal of the merits or demerits of his address be made. . . ."[113] The preparations to safeguard the Bishop and to prevent disturbances indicate that threats were made which were not publicized, because Burleson arranged for policemen to assist the Boy Scout doorkeepers.[114] Oxnam filled his engagement without any public demonstration.[115] His address, declared one editorial writer, did "not sound like the talk of a Marxist or a heathen. Demagogues in and out of the pulpit will find slim pickings in [it]."[116]

The teachers themselves were not perturbed by the protests; and, indeed, a number asked Burleson for complimentary tickets for friends.[117] After the meeting at least one teacher congratulated Burleson on "his determination" and declared that she enjoyed the Bishop's talk more than anything else.[118] Later, the Executive Secretary stated that only one teacher had registered a protest against Oxnam.[119] Burleson was cautious thereafter, and the next year he inquired about a prospective speaker, "Is he radical or otherwise objectionable in any way? What is his point of view in regard to Communism?"[120] Again he stated, "I do not want to invite anyone who may have a cranky or unwholesome view of things."[121] On another occasion, when the qualifications of a speaker were discussed, Burleson wryly observed, "[He] had been banished from Russia and was therefore safe."[122]

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[112]Minutes of Executive Committee, August 31, 1946.

[113]Typescript of statement, "On the East Tennessee Education Association Speakers," ETEA Files; see also Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, September 1, 1946, and Knoxville *Journal*, September 1, 1946. The *Journal's* reply to this strong statement was that Oxnam was unsafe; he had been associated with Communist Front groups. United States Representative John Rankin of Mississippi was cited as an authority on Communists, and he said that Oxnam was "pink." *Ibid.*

[114]Burleson to O. L. Duggan, October 17, 1946, ETEA Files; Knoxville *Journal*, November 2, 1946.

[115]Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, November 2, 1946.

[116]*Ibid.* The *Journal* reported the speech and announced that a three-day protest meeting had been postponed for ten days. Knoxville *Journal*, November 2, 1946.

[117]Clyde Emert to Burleson, October 28, 1946, and S. N. Nelson to Burleson, October 2, 1946, ETEA Files.

[118]Mary Eleanor Wright to Burleson, November 4, 1946, ETEA Files.

[119]Burleson to T. C. Prince, December 5, 1946, ETEA Files.

[120]Burleson to Frank Bass, April 28, 1947, ETEA Files.

[121]Burleson to Dayton Phillips, May 3, 1947, ETEA Files.

[122]Minutes of Executive Committee, April 12, 1947.

Titles of subjects discussed in general sessions and departmental meetings from year to year show the varied interests of teachers and the evolution of what may be decribed as modern education. After 1920 major addresses usually dealt with current events, and even those who know little history can date the topics, although many of the problems remain unsolved. The forces of bolshevism, socialism, and lawlessness were explained in 1919. The challenge of peace and outlawing of war were considered in 1922 and 1923, respectively. In 1931 the people of the world were menaced by narcotic drugs. Changing needs of youth always have been of concern to educators. The rapidity with which the needs seemed to change from year to year suggest that each speaker was a special advocate, because it is doubtful that basic needs changed as much as the speakers wanted their audiences to believe. Civilization has stood at many crossroads in the last three decades if titles of addresses are reliable criteria. The Great Depression and the New Deal should have been thoroughly understood inasmuch as they received much attention. Soon after World War II started, Gerald Nye, an arch isolationist, was scheduled to talk on "Preparations of Peace"; the next year, the teachers were advised of "Education's Part in National Defense." The Atomic Age has been given more attention by the East Tennessee Education Association than any era since the beginning of time.[123]

Intangible aims of education — building character, training for citizenship, making leaders, and inculcating morals — have been honored by many speakers in recent years. But the orators represent merely another new generation who think that they have discovered novel ideas. Since Socrates taught Plato, teachers have had these same aims.[124] Insofar as the East Tennessee Education Association is concerned, "morals" first appeared in a title of a speech in 1911;[125] "character" was used the same year.[126] "Training for citizenship" has been used frequently since 1920. "Educating for Democracy" was used in 1913.[127] It was not until 1929 that "leadership" found its way into a title.

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[123]See Official Programs, *passim.*

[124]In the United States, lip service has been paid to these aims since 1619. See Knight and Hall (eds.), *Readings in American Educational History*, 3, 9, 22, 60-62.

[125]See Official Programs, *passim.*

[126]In 1928, by way of contrast, Gus W. Dyer, as rugged an individualist in his day as could be found, and professor of economics at Vanderbilt University, bluntly told the teachers that the home was the proper place to build character. Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 27, 1928.

[127]The republican form of government established by the founding fathers who wrote the Constitution of 1787 and the republic to which school children and adults pay allegiance made their last stand in 1933 when the Social Science Department had a talk on "Our Republican Form of Government — Has It Changed?" Since 1933 democracy has been the watchword.

Over the years, educationists developed a jargon, sometimes identified as pedaguese, and at least one lexicon has been published to facilitate comprehension of the vocabulary. Neologisms found in the official programs include "correlation," which first appeared in 1906, and "fusion," "vitalizing," and "standardized," which were used in 1920. "Motivation" has a 1921 vintage. The fourth decade of the century produced functional, minimum essentials, individual differences, enriching the curriculum, dynamic, scope, challenge, purposeful, meaningful, liberalizing, personality, and lesson plans, to mention a few.[128]

The public school curriculum has been examined almost annually by some members of the association. If all of the suggestions for a liberalized, vitalized, reorganized, integrated, and personalized curriculum were followed, conservative educators would have been driven insane long ago. East Tennessee teachers first heard the attack on cultural subjects and "traditionalism" in 1913.[129] A dean of a graduate school of arts warned against "too much factual teaching" and pleaded for "the recognition [of] . . . special faculties in students."[130] The use of textbooks and the way textbooks have been used by some teachers were criticized in 1934 and 1953.[131] Teachers of mathematics and foreign languages seem to have been harder pressed than any other subject-matter specialists; and they fought a valiant, if somewhat futile, battle in their departmental meetings; their efforts to sell their subjects to students in the 1920's suggest that they, like many business men, belonged to the cult of advertisers.[132] At least one speaker, who, incidentally, was president of the association, declared that modern schools squeezed the initiative out of children and put a premium on mediocrity.[133]

In their sectional meetings teachers and administrators usually considered their immediate problems. Space will not permit a detailed examination of each department, but a few examples may be offered as fairly typical.[134] Virtually all of the departments have been interested in new methods of presenting old material. Superintendents and principals occupied themselves with supervision, finances, surveys, curriculum-revision, and what they expected of teachers. No one, however, explained standards for administrative behavior, nor did the directors of school systems seem

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[128]Official Programs, *passim*.
[129]Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, March 21, 1913.
[130]Dean J. G. Laing, University of Chicago, quoted in Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, November 1, 1929.
[131]Knoxville *Journal*, October 27, 1934, Knoxville *News-Sentinel*, October 30, 1953.
[132]See Official Programs, *passim*.
[133]Ruth Webb O'Dell (now Mrs. Dysart), of Newport, quoted in Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, October 25, 1923.
[134]Official Programs, *passim*.

concerned with attitudes of the public or the teachers toward their representatives and employers. Primary teachers gave much thought to the minimum essentials they should stress; perhaps the course of study in the lower grades has been expanded too rapidly, or perchance essentials have been neglected. Teachers of business education often examined the needs of employers. Mathematics teachers worried about what to teach students so they could meet the requirements of junior high school, high school, and college. Teachers of social studies and English made persistent efforts to vitalize their subject matter. Coaches worried about the place of athletics in the curriculum; incidentally, so did principals. In 1906 college professors deplored the anti-intellectualism of students;[135] undergraduates had no enthusiasm for learning in 1930; six years later, professors were asked, "Are We Jazzing Education?" College teachers, in 1920, considered biology as a requirement for graduation and "How Much Credit Should Be Given for Music Courses?" Concomitantly, a major question was "Should Colleges Allow Students to Use Tobacco in Any Form?" In 1939 motivation of mental processes, ratiocination, or just plain thinking was a problem faced by the professors. Guidance programs for undergraduates were discussed in the 1940's.

A number of generalizations now may be made. The meetings have been well planned and conducted with a minimum of complications. Thousands of teachers have availed themselves of opportunities to hear talks of current and professional interest, and they have indubitably enjoyed the respite from school routine. Knoxville business men have made profits. The executive committee showed its independence and fortitude when it refused to yield to outside pressure in the Oxnam affair. The decided contrast between its stand taken on the Bishop's appearance and its refusal to issue a statement for freedom of inquiry in the Scopes case may be explained by a difference in numerical strength, influence, and training of the teachers in 1925 and in 1946. Fads in education have been demonstrated by the emphasis on standardization in the 1920's giving way to individualization in the 1930's and guidance in the 1940's. Attacks and counter-attacks made by Progressives and Traditionalists in the 1950's were not part of a new struggle but extensions of an old one; the internecine warfare perhaps illustrates "continuing growth" on the part of both camps. The attention given to methods and the numerous discussions of minimum essentials suggest that more emphasis should be given to subject matter. At the same time, more educationists appeared before departmental meeting than academic specialists; it is possible that professors of education were more forceful and attracted a larger following among

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[135]Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, May 12, 1906.

public-school people. It is possible also that authorities in other fields have been too interested in their specialties and permitted leadership in public school associations to go by default.

From the study of the East Tennessee Education Association several conclusions may be reemphasized. The organization of the association was a part of the public school movement in the state. The association, through its legislative committee, cooperated with other agencies and raised the standards of teaching, housing, and qualifications of teachers; length of school terms was extended; appropriations for salaries were increased. The leaders in the association have had the confidence of the rank and file. Some sectional jealousy gave trouble, but in recent years it has not been obvious. Research projects sponsored by the association had potential utility. Resolutions reflected the interests, vested and otherwise, of organized teachers; and with the passing of time, the educators became less reticent in voicing their opinions. The annual meetings have been successful, and they have brought national recognition to the association. Undoubtedly, the social features incident to the annual sessions served to cement old friendships and helped form new ones which relieved the tedium of an over-serious profession. The benefits which individual members received from the meetings can not be measured; but perhaps the ideas and inspiration for more intelligent service have been important contributions. An awareness of being a part of a great organization and movement dedicated to a worthy cause may have resulted in individuals' taking more pride in the quality of their work and in remaining with the profession.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Translated and edited by
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt.*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's
Publications, Nos. 9-26)

XVIV — January-August, 1792.

SHELBY AND OTHERS TO PORTELL, DISTRICT OF MIRO [MERO], [1792?][1]

Capt. Thomas Portell, Commandant of New Mad[rid], Tennessee County, District of Miro

Sir,

We are truly Sorry to address you on a Subject not agreeable, but as we wish to prevent what may be more Disagreeable we do it with less reluctance. -

The object of this letter is peace to prevent Depredation by the Savages from your District; to prevent Murders of the Inhabitants of this district from Sd. Savages and to prevent the neicssity [necessity] of retatiation [retaliation] -.

We expect that the repeated Instances of our property being Stolen from us viz. great Numbers of Horses every Spring and Fall and at the Same time the repeated murders of the Inhabitants are not unknown to the Inhabitants of New Madded [Madrid] and Conceive it also Impossible that it Should be hid from you

To recite all those instances would take up much time and room and might tend rather to Inflame than to reconeele [reconcile]; But the late Instances we will barely mention; and dwell as Short on them as possible for

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]A.G.I., P.C., legajo 104. The official name of this district when created by North Carolina was spelled Mero, although named after Estevan Miró, Spanish governor at New Orleans. Tennessee County was the most western of the three counties in the district. The bearer of this letter, Dr. Richard John Waters, passed through New Madrid en route to Kentucky about December 5, 1791. Circumstances in Kentucky caused him to turn aside for the moment toward Cumberland, from which he returned to New Madrid by January 12, 1792, bringing his epistle. See Waters to Portell, December 5, 1791, in Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, 3 parts: vols. II, III, and IV, *Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1945 (Washington, 1949), Part II, 417-18; and same to same, January 12, 1792, in *ibid.*, III, 2. Gen. James Robertson, commander of the Mero district militia, also wrote to Portell February 13, 1792. *Ibid.*, 3.

we find it Dificult to recite them without a Spirit of exasperation too warm for the Intention of this paper

On the 19th of August - 1790 a no less number than Thirteen valuable Horses were taken from us and the Crops of many - Honest poor men were blasted from the loss and now within these few Days past they have been guilty of not only the Same Depredation but the Murder of Some of our most valuable Citizens. Now Sir, that the first above mentioned Horses were Stolen by the Indians of your District is and has been a long time a thing well known amongst us and from every appearance the late meschaps [mishaps] have been done by the Same Hands or Some of the Same Tribe. and Sir what are we to think of Such Instances. Can we call it any thing less then open war on their Side, and what can be expected we will do in Turn. Why Sir we mean to be plain with you and we think ourselves bound in duty to ourselves, to our friends, our Wives and our Children no longer to suffer Such outrages, we have Confidence in our Numbers, and the passiage is easy and Natural from our Country to yours.

What resolutions we had Entered into and what measures we were about to take about the Arrival of one of your Inhabitants Doctor Richard J. Waters[2] is needless to Say; Suffice it then to mention that from the representation of your Character to us by Said Waters, we were persuaded that those aforesaid Enormities are contrary to your wish and which you would do everything in your power to prevent. Under these Ideas of the Goodness of your Character impressed on us by the aforesaid Waters and by the advice and consent of the Said Richard we have Sent on this address by him, and would be glad to find his assurences true

To prevent further mischief and a restitution of property is what we aim at and he appears so Confident of your doing everything in your power to Effect this (on a proper representation) that we have altered our plan and sent you this paper. We would wish not to be understood to boast of our Strength but be assured that nothing herto has prevented our Destroying that United Sett [?] of Villiages, but the respect to his Catholic Majesty; and Sir, Men in our Situation do not conceive ourselves bound Strictly to abide what men say who don't know our Sitiation and dont feel as we do. The loss of our dearest friends and the Distruction of our property involves us in a Situation which Cannot be worsted and we think Congress has other Business enough to keep them from attempting to Chastize three hundred of there most warlike children enaccessable from insurmountable Mountains and unpassable Wildernesses with arms in their Hands in Such a Case as this.

Finally Sir from the Character we have just received of you we are Induced to request of you -

1st To cause a restitution of what Horses the Indians may Have of ours -

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[2]Dr. Waters had gone to New Madrid from the United States in 1790, taking the oath of allegiance to Spain in October of that year. For discussions of his activities see Foucher to Miró, October 25, 1790, in *ibid.*, II, 385-86; and Waters to Portell, September 20, 1792, in *ibid.*, III, 84-86.

2nd Express Orders given by you to prevent further mischiefs

and Sir to conclude we conceive these are in your power and if not brought about we expect the World will not blame us for the Consequences. If your Intentions are peace, we expect it Signified to us in writing by the first Opportunity. If not, and the Indians [are] still encouraged to waste our Frontiers we must retaliate and Destroy our Enemy wherever we find them. And in this persuit it will be Impossible to Discriminate between the Offensive and Inoffensive. And there are many Indian Traders amongst the Indians equally mischeveous to us as the Indians themselves and must Expect the Same Treatment. -

Evan Shelby
R. Nelson
Val Sevier
John Montgomery
George Bell[3]

McDONALD TO O'NEILL, CHEROKEES, APRIL 10, 1792[1]

Chrookees April 10th 1792

His Excellency Arthur O Neill Esqr
Sir

When I closed the other letters I did not expect to have Sent over one or two with these letters, but by reason of the disturbance Subsisting between the Creeks & Chickasaws the Indians themselves thought it not very Safe for So few to go.

but agreed that Seven or Eight Shoud Accompany one another - Two of them are head Men - Your Excellency will consider these as

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[3]For Waters' comments on these men see his letter to Portell, January 12, 1792, in *ibid.*, III, 2. He says Shelby, Valentine Sevier, and Montgomery all bore the title of colonel in Tennessee County, that Shelby was a "very military character,' but that the other two were more popular. Also, "Geo. Bur [Bell] & Robt. Nielson [Nelson] are Justices of the Peace, Men of Property & of Repute in their neighborhood—". According to the military and civil appointments by Gov. William Blount for the Southwest Territory in C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, IV, *The Southwest Territory* (Washington, 1936, pp. 441-43), the only one of the group to hold a militia office at that time was Robert Nelson, who was a captain as well as a justice of the peace. Bell and Montgomery also had been appointed to the latter office. The three designated as colonels probably had held that rank during previous military service. Valentine Sevier was the brother of John Sevier. *Ibid.*, 249n. Montgomery was a signer of the Cumberland Compact and the founder of Clarksville, Tenn. He had been one of George Rogers Clark's lieutenants in his Revolutionary War campaign in the Illinois country. Shelby was the "Maj. Evan Shelby," brother of Gov. Isaac Shelby of Kentucky and son of Gen. Evan Shelby, reported killed on the Cumberland River in January, 1793. *Knoxville Gazette*, February 23, 1793.

[1]A.G.I., P.C., 208. John McDonald was a trader in the Cherokee Nation living not far from present Chattanooga. It is of interest to note that he was the grandfather of the noted Cherokee chief John Ross, and that descendants of the latter still live in the western part of North Carolina. William Panton had won McDonald to Spanish service in 1789. Carondelet, the governor at New Orleans, now made him commissary in the Cherokee Nation. A. P. Whitaker, "Spain and the Cherokee Indians, 1793-1798," *North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh), IV (July, 1927), 257.

friends, consequently will no doubt reward them by giving them Some presents Such as Guns Ammunition &c. Your Excellency will please to Observe to send no letters for the future either to the Nation or me axcept by Such as I Shall recommend, or else by Some faithful Whiteman employed by Your Excellency for the purpose [illegible] them at My own House - a fellow call'd the Bold hunter who went to Orleans from Pensacola, Since the Bloody fellow,[5] passed the distance of Seventy Miles at least from my house, and as he told People as he went he had letters for me I expect (as he lives about hundred Miles distant adjoining the Sittlements) he will deliver them into the hands of the Amcns. any communication from your Excellency to me will be Safely handed by these Indians, I am totally out of paper. your Excellency will be condesending enough to Send me a little by these Indians, if they Should happen to [illegible] else where, With the Most profound respect . . . .

Jno McDonald

His Excellency
Arthur O Neill Esqr,
Governor & Commander in Chief of Pensacola
Express by Indians

SHAW, McCLURE, AND HAMPTON TO THE CHOCTAW NATION, KNOXVILLE, APRIL 13, 1792[6]

A Message to the Choctaw Nation of Indians from the Commissioners Plenipotentiary for assuring & establishing [illegible] Amity between the United States of America and all the Indian Nations [illegible] southward of the River Ohio - within the Limits of the said States

Brothers of the Choctaw Nation!! -

We are glad of an Opportunity by the return of M Bennet Bellow[7] into your Country to assure you of the Continuation of the strong Friend-

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[5]Bloodyfellow was an important chief of the Chickamauga group of Cherokees. See below McDonald to Panton, November 6, 1792, legajo 203, and Panton to Carondelet, November 6, 1792, legajo 177, to be printed in installment XX. For his visit to Philadelphia see *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1832-1834), I, 327.

[6]A.G.I., P.C., 38. A copy of this talk was sent to the Chickasaws, but it was delivered by another set of commissioners; in fact, the trio whose names were attached represented an effort of Governor Blount to solve a problem delegated by the President and secretary of war. On Washington's orders, Secretary Henry Knox prepared a message for the Choctaws on February 17, 1792, to be delivered by Leonard D. Shaw, already United States agent to the Cherokees. It appears that Blount added McClure and Hampton, who acted only long enough to write this talk. By April 21 Blount had appointed Anthony Foster and James Randolph Robertson to deliver it to the Choctaws, David Smith being added to the commission on May 10. See below Carondelet to Aranda, July 25, 1792, and "American Overtures," Blount to the Choctaw Nation of April 21 and May 10, 1792, in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III, 4-7. See also Carter (ed.),*Territorial Papers*, IV, 143-47, 172n. Smith was a captain of militia of Davidson County, and Robertson was the son of Gen. James Robertson.

[7]For a sketch of Ballew's career see Welch to McGillivray, August 8, 1792, below. Note also, below, Welch to the Commander in Chief at Mobile, August 15, 1792, and Cherokees to the Spanish Governor at Mobile, June 29, 1792.

ship of the United States of America for your Nation. We hope that the Peace which was established between the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of America & the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of all the Choctaws at Hopewell on the Keowee on the third day of January in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred & Eighty Six[8] will last as long as the Sun shall shine in the Heaven or the Rivers Run into the Ocean.

Brothers!

We rejoice to inform You of many good things which have happened to our Nation since that Treaty. The White Men in the other Great Continent begin more & more to respect us. We are at Peace with all the World. Our People are Encreasing in Number every day. A New & great Council Fire is kindled at our beloved City of New York where the old & the wise Men from all our States are come to consult & promote the Prosperity of all America. Our Union is strong. For Brothers, We think & act like one Man. Our Great Warrior General Washington, who you very [?] well know, drove our Enemies all beyond the Great Waters, is now the Head Man of all our Councils and the Chief of all our Warriors. He by the advice of his wise Councillors has commanded us to tell you that, the United States regard the red Men with the same favorable Eye that they do the White Men: And that Justice shall always be maintained equally between them.

Now, Head Men & Warring Chiefs of all the Choctaws listen to Us. We are the Mouth of the Union for You, and say that we are perfectly satisfied with your Conduct since the Treaty of Hopewell, and trust we have given you Reason to be satisfied with ours. All that remains for both our Nations is to continue to act the same open and friendly Part. You Brothers, may rest assured that your Interests are always near to our Hearts, and that in conformity to the true Intent & meaning of the eighth Article of the said Treaty, the General Government of the United States will as soon as circumstances may conveniently admit take Measures for extending more fully to the Choctaw the Benefits & Comforts arising from a well regulated & mutually advantageous Trade.

Brothers Farewell

We wish you all the Happiness and Prosperity which we wish to our Fellow Citizens the White Men of the United States -

Done at Knoxville under our Hands and Seals this the thirteenth [?] day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred & ninty two and in the Seventeenth Year of the Independence [of] the United States of America.

D. Shaw
Wm. McClure
A. Hamton

Attest
David S. Frank Secy.[9]

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[8]Correspondence concerned with the Treaty of Hopewell is in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 38-39, 49-54.

[9]Leonard D. Shaw was married to a mixed-breed Cherokee woman. At the moment he was agent to his wife's people. *Ibid.*, I, 436. Anthony Hampton, father of the first Wade Hampton, was active on the Cherokee frontier. D. L. Rights, *The American Indians in North Carolina* (Durham, 1947), 166. William McClure and David S. Franks have not been identified.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, APRIL 17, 1792[10]

No 39

I send you the enclosed Account of two Flatboats which arrived at this Post from Holston listing the Individuals and the Cargo which they brought.

Mr. Henry Hunter,[11] a native of the United States, the Proprietor of one of them, a person of worth and special talent in all mechanical work, was Colonel in the American Service in the last War, and of whom I had previous favorable information concerning his conduct, which my dealings with him have confirmed, has taken the oath of fidelity with the intention of settling in this district with his family, which is mentioned in the enclosed account.

The other Individuals who come in the other Boat are also settling in this District. According to the information which I have, they are persons of honorable conduct and masters of useful trades.

All of this I repeat for your information.

May the Lord keep your Lordship many years, Natchez, April 17, 1792.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

Account of two Flatboats which arrived from Holston to this Post with Passengers and Cargo.

Proprietor ..... 1st Boat	Mr. Henry Hunter.....	
	His Wife and Seven children.....	
	And fifteen Negroes which belong to him....	Settlers
	Farm Tools and Household Furniture for his use.....	
Proprietor ..... 2nd Boat Passengers	Robert Munson.....	
	His Wife and Four children.....	
	Jesse Munson, His Wife and one son and a Slave.....	Settlers
	John Grady,[12] His Wife and two children and two Negroes.....	

[10]A.G.I., P.C., 41. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos was Spanish governor of the district of Natchez. Carondelet had succeeded Miró as governor at New Orleans late in 1791.

[11]Henry Hunter was destined to become speaker of the house of representatives of the Mississippi Territory. See Hunter and Ellis to Claibourne, December 4, 1801, in Dunbar Rowland, *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816*, 6 vols. (Jackson, 1917), I, 19-21.

[12]Robert and Jesse Munson and John Grady have not been identified.

Cargo
Farm Tools and a few pieces of Household furniture for their use
Natchez, April 17, 1792
Gayoso

MARNEY VS. COLVITT [?], FIRST MONDAY IN MAY 1792[18]

Territory of the United States
South of the river Ohio } To

For the trust fidelity and confidence that we repose in you or either of you to cause Isaac Johnston[14] John Foster[15] Joseph Harrison[16]& Stephen Minor[17] to appear before you on Such day as Shall be appointed and them be Examined in the behalf of John Marney and also for Joseph Colvill in a Certain matter of Controversy in our Superior Court of Law now depending then and there to be tryed between John Marney Plaintiff and Joseph Colvitt[18] Defendant and the Examination So taken you Send inclosed under your hands and Seals together with this writ at our next Superior Court of Law to be held for the District of Miro at the Courthouse in the town of Nashville on the first monday in november next witness Andrew McNairy[19] Clerk of our Superior Court at Office this first monday in May 1792 and xvith year of our Independence.

Andrew McNairy CSC

[On the back of the page this note:]
Marney
v
Colvitt
Ded P.
To be taken before the publick notary.

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[18]A.G.I., P.C. 202.

[14]Bouligny to Miró, August 22, 1785, listed Isaac Johnson as one of the most reliable persons in the Natchez district. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, II, 142.

[15]John Foster settled on St. Catherine's Creek in 1789 (in Homachitto River area). *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), I, 613, 863, 871.

[16]Joseph Harrison was a landholder on St. Catherine's Creek. *Ibid.*, I, 887.

[17]Stephen Minor, an Anglo-American resident of the Natchez district, had entered the Spanish service. At the moment he was adjutant-major of the post with rank of lieutenant. Carondelet to deBlanc, October 18, 1792, in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III, 92. He figured heavily in Spanish operations around Natchez until the post finally went to the United States, and was destined to be the Spanish member of the commission to survey the line laid down by the Treaty of San Lorenzo el Real of 1795.

[18]John Marney and James Colvitt have not been identified.

[19]Andrew McNairy was one of the three judges of the superior court of the Southwest Territory.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, MAY 9, 1792[20]

No. 3
Very Confidential
Through your very confidential letter of last April 11 I am advised of what the said William Cunningham[21] has declared about the Inhabitants of this District having advised Bowles that they were about to take up Arms in favor of those of Kentucky and Cumberland.

I do not doubt that there may be some person in this District that has corresponded with Bowles,[22] but he must be a very insignificant Person, for Bowles was mentioned very little here before his arrest, and without causing the least sensation.

Cunningham is a perverse individual, has been a Trader in the Creek Nation, and is known for inciting the Indians to steal horses, as well as for other actions that brand him as a totally unworthy person.

Although nothing that he says should be disregarded, and although he may require more and more watching, I am of opinion that he says many things for the sole purpose of making us uneasy and give himself some importance.

I shall be very Carefull about him, but I assure you that I shall not be taken unawares as I have been before by another individual . . . .
Natchez, May 9, 1792.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

ELIJAH ROBERTSON TO GAYOSO, NASHVILLE, MAY 30, 1792[23]

Nashville 30th May 1792 -

Sir

I have not the pleasure of being personally acquainted with you, but hope the justice of my application will be a Sufficient appology for my troubling of your Excellency; I was Security for a Company [of]

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[20]A.G.I., P.C., 41.

[21]Cunningham had been aide-de-camp to William Augustus Bowles when the latter seized Panton's store near St. Marks in January of 1792. Falling out with his chief, Cunningham deserted and surrendered to the Spaniards, only to be imprisoned and shipped to New Orleans, Cuba, Spain, and finally to the Philippines — as was Bowles himself. In this letter Gayoso referred to statements made by Cunningham while in New Orleans.

[22]Bowles had been tricked by Carondelet's agents into visiting New Orleans under a safe conduct. After almost winning over Carondelet to his side (at least enough to get the latter to offer him a commission in the Spanish service), Bowles was finally shipped off to Cuba, whence he too went to Spain. For a long time the ministry vacillated between trying to win him over and giving him a long prison term. Finally deported to the Philippines, he gave so much trouble there that he was shipped back to Spain, only to escape on the African coast and return to Florida via England and the West Indies for another try at establishing an Indian state.

[23]A.G.I., P.C., 204. Elijah Robertson, brother of Gen. James Robertson, was lieutenant colonel of Davidson County. Carter (ed.), IV, 132n. An almost identical letter was sent to Carondelet on May 25, 1792, printed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III, 39-40.

Merchants in this Country for eight thousand One hundred and twenty five pounds Eusebius Bushnell[24] was the only one of the Company who was possessed of a Considerable property, he has absented himself from this Country in a Clendestine manner and Conveyed his property to his friends, so that the laws of the United States can not take hold of it and is now an Inhabitant of the Appelucys[25] - I intended to have waighted on your Excellency in person, but being called on by the Creditors am ingaged at this time in discharging the debt, and have imployed Mr. Fargo[26] a Gentleman of integrity and in high Esteem amongst the Americans to waight on you in my behalf, who will hand to you the judgement against me, I need not be more explicite as I am Sencible of your Excellencys readiness to see Justice administered to every individual . . .

Elijah Robertson

His Excellency
Governor Gayoso -
at Fourt Natchez -
Mr. Fagot.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, JUNE 18, 1792[27]

No. 110-
I enclose to you the Statement given me by the Boatmen Thomas Matthews[28] about one of the Flatboats that came down recently. This Individual says what is Commonly believed by persons of his class, without considering the probability of it coming to pass, nor whether or not this is the plan that Congress will adopt. Although Ballenger[29] is a more rational man, his manner of thinking does not vary from those of the person I have mentioned, and I doubt not that he really stated what is contained in the enclosed Paper.

I questioned very carefully Mr. Isaac Telfair,[30] Owner of one of the Flatboats, a tractable person, and apparently very talented, asking him all the questions I could tactfully submit about Ballenger because of the reports I have just received, and the following is the result:

That Ballenger was disposed to make a trip to the Chickasaw Nation in search of Horses that he left there on his last trip which was made last year;

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[24]Eusebius Bushnell had reached Natchez from Kentucky in June of 1790. See Grand Pre to Miró, June 19, 1790, in *ibid.*, II, 353.

[25]Appalucys (Opelousas, Appelousa, Appeloucies, etc.) was a post near the Texas frontier. For lists of settlements and military posts in Spanish Louisiana see *ibid.*, I, 157-60, II, 159-67.

[26]Andre Fagot. This St. Louis merchant also delivered David Campbell to Carondelet, May 11, 1792, and James Robertson to Carondelet, May 25, 1792. See *ibid.*, III, 39, 41.

[27]A.G.I., P.C., 41.

[28]The statement is printed below.

[29]See, below, Mathews' statement, and Gayoso to Carondelet, July 21, 1792, for more about Joseph Ballenger's mission to the Chickasaws.

[30]Telfair was a merchant of Lexington, Ky. For an announcement of the opening of his store in the east end of that town see *Kentucky Gazette*, January 7, 1792.

that General Scott[31] proposed at the same time to entrust to him the two letters mentioned in the enclosed Notice, offering him a reward of thirty pesos [illegible][32] and very proper to manage Boatmen. Telfair employed him to take the Flatboat to Chickasaw Bluffs where he was to remain so that he would never do any of things which [illegible] part of which is really the current opinion of the lower classes, but certainly not of Congress. In regard to New Madrid, he had heard only that some Inhabitants of Cumberland had written to the Commandant of that Post,[33] that if he did not control the Indians so that they would quit stealing their Horses to sell in New Madrid, they were determined to pay them a visit; that the Commandant replied very respectfully asking if their views were authorized by Congress, or by whom; to which the men of Cumberland answered that the plans were their own, from which correspondence no further action has resulted to date.

He believes positively that the preparations being made in America have no other purpose than to go against the Indians; that everybody there believes that from the Negotiations now going on between Spain and the United States they will be granted the Navigation of this River, though they also believe that Congress is not serious enough about that matter, and tends to treat with indifference the wishes of the Inhabitants of the West.

This Individual is going to that Capital, and you can inform yourself about him more fully, but I do not believe that what you learn will cause you to come to Conclusions other than those I have reached, namely that there is no reason to fear attacks from the Upper River, unless there should be some attack by insubordinate persons against New Madrid, and this is merely a possibility . . . .
Natchez, June 18, 1792.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

[Translation]

DECLARATION OF THOMAS MATHEWS, NATCHEZ, JUNE 18, 1792[34]

Natchez, June 18 1792, Thomas Mathews, a native of Ireland, from Kentucky, Declares that he was a Soldier of the Last American Army that was defeated by the Indians, and has since worked at his trade of dry cleaning in different parts of Kentucky; that on the third of April of this year he signed up in Lexington to go to New Orleans as an oarsman aboard a Flatboat loaded with Tobacco, that he is at present here with Six Other person who came with him; that on board his Flatboat there came as far as Chickasaw Bluffs an individual named Ballenger, who seemed to have an interest

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[31]See the biographical sketch of Gen. Charles Scott in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1944), XVI, 487.
[32]About three lines of the manuscript are illegible.
[33]Shelby and others to Portell, printed above.
[34]A.G.I., P.C., 41.

in the Cargo of all the Flatboats, whom he heard say that in Kentucky, at the home of General Scott[35] about twenty-eight Miles above Frankfort, he had been given two letters by that General, one for the Chief of the Cherokee Nation, and the other for the Mountain Leader,[36] Chief of the Chickasaw Nation; that, as he understood it, Ballenger was in favor of inducing the Indians to help them take possession of the Lands which we possess, that, according to him belong to the United States; that in New Madrid he heard Ballenger himself say that with Fifty men hidden in Flatboats he would dare approach that Post and take the Fort by Assault, and that with Six Hundred men he could take this Country; that, continuing his journey to the said Chickasaw Bluffs, he disembarked there with a Horse which he had brought, and, said he was going to the Chickasaw Nation and then to the Cherokees. Moreover, he says that he believes this could take place if the Americans succeed in making Peace with the Indians, and that in such a case they could come only by Water, though for that purpose now they do not have a single Boat; that the Indians who are at War with the Americans, he believes, are to gather in Cumberland next month to meet Commissioners from Congress[37] to make Peace. He adds that the said Ballenger mentioned the American Right to this Bank of the River extends to twenty-five Miles above New Orleans; that John Daragh, a Boatman on Another Flatboat, heard all this also, though he denied having done so, but admitted that Ballenger had received Letters from General Scott, which he was carrying to the Chickasaw and Cherokee Nations; which is all he had to say on this matter.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, JULY 21, 1792[38]

No. 133

Under date of July 18, in letter No. 127, I sent you a Copy of one by Turner Brashears,[39] and copies of the talks he included in it in fulfilment of the promise he made me about informing me of all happenings in that Nation which might interest us.

Taniahuma [Tomahuma], a son of the great Chief Taboca, came to bring them, accompanied by Taboca, without other motive than that of see-

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[35]General Scott had built a blockhouse at the junction of the Kentucky and the Ohio, but early in 1792 he moved to the location here mentioned. R. H. Collins, *History of Kentucky,* 2 vols. (Louisville, 1924), II, 119.

[36]Piomingo in his own language, but Mountain Leader to the Americans. A stream in western Kentucky still bears his Chickasaw name.

[37]This conference, held by Governor Blount and Gen. Andrew Pickens of South Carolina at Nashville, originally scheduled for May 10, was postponed until August. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* I, 284-88.

[38]Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, legajo 2, No. 11.

[39]Recommending Brashears for agent to the Choctaws, Benjamin Hawkins wrote: "Turner Brashear resides among them; he is a native of Maryland, of good Character, understands the Indian language and appears to me to be fit for the appointment." Hawkins to Dearborn, December 21, 1801, *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah), IX (1918), 413. See also Kinnaird (ed.),*Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, xv-xvi.

ing me and assuring me of their continued affection for the Spanish nation; there came with them also another Warrior and all three lodged in my house since Taboca is accustomed to this consideration and it is important to keep him friendly to us, for it is public knowledge that Englishmen and Americans alike always pay him court, and now more than ever it would be most prejudicial for the Americans to win him over. I see it as a great good fortune that this Old Man came here now instead of going to Cumberland. I had many conversations with him, the results of which are as follows:

He told me that he did not come because he was called, but purely to see me and talk about different matters; that I should not think he had come to talk about the Treaty,[40] for that was a finished matter about which conversation would not be reopened, at which I was much satisfied.

He took out several papers, showed me his Commission and a Passport which I had given him before, and after I had returned them, he took a string of white beads and, pulling them apart, gave me one part and gave the other to Taniahuma his son, who should inherit his place in the Village, and for whom he has great affection, and then he said the following:

You have before you my son whom I love well; he is the one who is to succeed me in command and perhaps in that of the whole Nation; cultivate his friendship, for he will be faithful to you, and you will help him all you can; this string of white beads is formed from different Strings which I received recently from all the Indian Nations in token of peace and perpetual union, and for the same purpose I bring it to you to assure you more and more of my intentions. I have dealt with all the White Nations. I have been to New York and Philadelphia, I am the friend of all, but the Spaniards have my Heart, and I do not intend to go anywhere else than to this government; I am too old to go to New Orleans, so count on my coming to you to tell you all that happens in the Nation and in case of my not having a Horse with which to make the trip, my son is young and will come on foot. This is the first part of what I have to say.

The other part is that when I went to New Orleans after the English left this Country I gave up all my Commissions, a very large Medal, and a Saber which I had from the English, the Spaniards offering to replace everything, but they have given me only a Commission, so I hope that by your hand I shall receive a very large Medal for I want one to be in my Town so that my memory shall pass from generation to generation: also, I hope that they will give me another Saber. I need also three gold collars for my sons Taniahuma, Onanchaabé, and Tascahumasto: with a commission for the latter because he lost his. I need nothing for Ostenabeque who is the fourth Captain of my Village, which is called Conchitó. I also hope that since I was not there at the time of the Treaty you will give me my corresponding Present. I answered him that I would lay before you his petition concerning the Large Medal, Saber, Commission and Collar: that in regard to the present, a very complete one was being kept for him, but

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[40]Small wonder that Gayoso was happy that Taboca and Tomahuma (Taniahuma) went to Natchez for most of the chiefs had gone to meet with Governor Blount (August 7-11). For the list of the latter see *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 284-88.

that I was very sorry to be out of everything here, for I wanted to treat him well. He requested that at least for the present I should have him an Overcoat made, and another for his sons, with a Hat for each one, and also two carbines, and three Shirts with a good portion of Limbourg, and other things which it was impossible to give him now. He also explained that his trip had cost him two Horses lost on the Road, and that he did not know how he could return on account of the Hot Weather, being now so old.

As it was necessary to repay him for the trouble on his trip and make him contented so he would not regret having come here instead of attending the meeting at Cumberland, I offered him the Overcoats, Hats, Shirts, and Carbines, and even though I tried to avoid giving him a Horse, I realized that to refuse his petition would have a very bad effect; so I had to give him one that cost only thirty pesos, which with the other items make up the enclosed Account.

I asked this Chief which American Commissioners had been in his Nation, why they had come, and what answer Franchimastabe had given them.

He replied that the Letters they had brought explained all of this: he had not intended to talk to me about it, but the Commissioners had come to bring a talk from President Washington, who desired to reaffirm this friendship with them, to which end he had sent the Commissioners,[41] who brought them two suits of clothes with two medals, to be given to the two principal Chiefs of the Nation, and he wanted the greatest number of Chiefs and Warriors possible to go to Cumberland to attend the Treaty which would be Celebrated there this month; that they would all be fed well; and that afterwards he wanted four or five of the Principal Chiefs to go to Philadelphia to shake hands with him, and there to receive an extraordinary present; that Franchimastabe received them well, telling them that he had no reason for refusing to shake hands with all the Whites, nor for refusing to receive the present, but as to going to the Treaty, he saw no need for it; that there was some disturbance at the Assembly caused by some young Warriors who went there to interrupt it, and that the meeting finished without any other happening, the Commissioners then retiring to Cumberland; that some Chiefs and Warriors, nevertheless, intended to go to the Treaty, but having heard Brashears' argument, none would go now. He made no particular mention of the Chiefs who showed a desire to go to the Treaty, but I hope to find out about them in the answer to the Letter which Brashears wrote, of which I enclose a translated copy in which you will see what I am talking about, namely that openly I cannot nor should demand more of an independent Nation, for it would give the United States a just motive for resentment if their interests were openly attacked, for if this should happen, I am firmly convinced that they would spare no means of avenging themselves, perhaps by doing more than they ever intended to do, and in that case it would be due solely to my own actions. It is not possible to keep the United States from having dealings with all the Indian Nations, nor to keep the latter from having different Contacts with

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[41]Blount had sent Anthony Foster, David Smith, and James Randolph Robertson to the Choctaw Nation. See note 6.

them, and no matter how secretly talks may be sent to the Indians, they become public, because to be effective they must be known throughout the whole Nation, or a large part of it, and furthermore all the foreigners there are informers, a circumstance which makes secrecy impossible. There is no other way to keep the Indian Nations friendly to our interest than to have in them our own Commissaries, persons of ability, who will put in practice the instructions which you send them, winning one by one the influential Chiefs, the Commissary himself acquiring influence over the body of the Nation, through opportune gifts proportionate to these people and the civilized Nations, in accord with the way Negotiations are managed between Nations.

As you are now sending Don Juan de la Villebeuvre[42] as Commissary to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, all this can be verified, and when he passes through here I shall inform him of all that you tell me.

I do not know what has been going on in the Chickasaw Nation, but I believe that some must have gone to the Treaty, and even to meet the American Army, because in that Nation there has always been a party in favor of them, and who were in the said Army during the previous Campaign; I hope, nevertheless, that Brashears will also give me some information about them.

Joseph Ballenger, who has gone to the Chickasaw Nation, is the same person I wrote you about in letter No. 110[43] under date of June 18 last, and the Communications he carries are surely like those that came to the Choctaw Nation.

In spite of the fact that Don Juan de la Villebeuvre is going to reside in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations as Commissary, I think that now is no time to undervalue the services of Turner Brashears: he has just given proof of his good intentions, and I am of the opinion that it would be best not to displease him; he is an intimate friend of Franchimastabe, and is married to a daughter of Taboca; and furthermore, as a Trader he has many Indians at his beck and call. A modest pension of thirty pesos per month will make him exceedingly useful to the Commissary who goes there; otherwise, be assured that he will do all he can to nullify everything I do or want to do to promote the things I must in Fulfillment of my obligation to you. This and other expenses are unavoidable under the present circumstances, for if the necessary steps are not taken at the proper time any others will be useless to counteract the measures used by the Americans.

On taking leave Taboca told me that different Nations called him by different names; that some gave him the name he had already, others Snagbe, and others Payomingo; but that his real name was Payo Mataha.

All of which I place before you for your information. . . .
Natchez, July 21, 1792.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

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[42]Carondelet to Aranda, July 25, 1792, below, states the purpose of Villebeuvre's appointment.

[43]Printed above.

[Translation]

ENCLOSURE IN GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, JULY 21, 1792[44]

Statement of items included in the Gift to the Chief of the Great Medal named Taboca, His son and a Warrior, all of the Village of Conchitó in the Choctaw Nation, who came to this Post with official news: to wit:

Two Carbines, one which cost twenty-five pesos and the other eighteen

A Horse worth Thirty pesos
Two Cloth Capes extra fine with their buttons
Three Fancy Shirts
Two extra fine Hats
Ten pounds of Sugar
Six pounds of Powder
Twelve pounds of bullets
Three empty Barrels of eight *Potes* with forty-eight bottles of Taffy
Five quires of Paper for Turner Brashears
Forty-eight pounds of Bread
Thirty-two of Fresh Meat
Twenty pounds of Bacon
Fourteen pounds of Rice
Ten pounds of Salt
Natchez, July 21, 1792

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

CHEROKEES TO THE SPANISH GOVERNOR IN MOBILE, JUNE 29, 1792[45]

June 29th 1792

At a counciel Begun & held in the Cherokee Nation, for the Better Settling of Matters for our own People

To the Spanish Governor in Mobile

Great & Beloved Father we have thought the time Long to have Som thing Don for our Distressed Nation -

Wee have Long Lissoned to your talks & the talks of our Beloved Man Mr. McGillevray, we have also in Devourd. to use all Possible Pollicy with the white People to Save our Land & Countery, But no thing Seems to Do any Good, all the Virginia People Seems to want is our Land & us to fight for them, a gainst our own - People, we have no idea of the Like, our Pollicy Leads us to other matters, which our Beloved Brothers & faithfull friend Mr. Ballew[46] Can inform You the whole, However we meen to Let you know som of our intentions Thare is a Large Nomber of our Chiefs & Warriors who assemble them selves to gather privetly for fear of the

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[44]Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, legajo 2, No. 11.
[45]A.G.I., P.C., 38.
[46]See note 8, above.

americains who Live So Nigh to us thare is Representiativs Chosen in ordin to hold a Counciel with the Northward tribes in order to fall on Som Plan if Possible to Save our Land, & for the Better Governing & Regulating the affairs of our Differant nations,

we Pupose to hold one General Counciel at Som Convenient Place whare wee may hold one Beloved & General Counciel for all the Red People who Sees Cause to join us in our union from the Great Lakes of Canady to the Creek Nation wee want to be come as one famely & all Lesson to one Beloved talks Let that Rule all our Nations Then we Becoming a Strong house as well as the white People the Virgineans & maybe Good backing Besides - then they would be a fraid to impose on us as they Do. This is all the Plan we Can think on at this time for our Saftey & the Good of our nation

we must I ther Do this, or Join the Americans in ware A gainst other Powers which is not the wish of our harts -
we Live So nigh to them & So much Beholding to them that we are obliged to Do what Ever they Please But we hope it will not always Be So -
we Cold in form you many things more Concarning thir Settleing Stores on our Land on the Tennessee in order to Git the Chickesaws & Choctaws to join them But if we Proseed on in our Scheme thirs must in Corse fall through our Beloved friend Can tell you Thir whole Plan you may Depend on what he tells you as We do also -

He is to go with us to the Shawanee tows [towns] as Soon as he Returns from You

we hope you will Give us all the assistance you Can in So Greate an undertakeing - also we hope you will Send us your Best in Structions By our Belovd friend Ballew, Send us an answer what you think would Be the Best for us to Do we are welling to Lisson to your talks & hope you will Send us the Best advice you Can By our Belovd man Ballew & our Beloved Chiefe the Shawnee killer we shall wate with Patience for thir Return now is the time if Aver you meen to assist us Do it now or Else never Pretend to say or send any talks to us any more, as we are oblige to Do Som thing for our Selves Emediatly & By Receiving & Lissoning to you & the Like Cause is the americans to use us wors on the ac cation - But we Dont Regard that if we Cold be or git fixt to our minds Better, we can not say any more at this time But Leave you & our friends to Settle all affairs for us & we will abide by it we wish you al the Hapiness that we wish our Selves - The Reason why we Did not Sine our names is be Cause we Live under the Eyes of the White People & if they Should find our names to Such a Paper after holding a treaty with them they would instiantly Send thir Light hors to Scurge our Nation

farwell Father, & Brothers -

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO ARANDA, NEW ORLEANS, JULY 25, 1792[47]

No. 5

Most Excellent Sir

By the accompanying Documents which have been sent me by the interpreter in the Choctaws Don Simon Fabre,[48] commissioned to that nation to follow the steps of the three commissioners of the American congress,[49] of Whose arrival in it I informed Your Excellency in confidential letter No. 4 of the 7th of this month and year,[50] You will learn of the determination of the United States to Draw the Indian nations away from alliance with us.

You will note in the Letter or talk from General Washington, No. 1, communicated in his name by the Secretary of War Knox, a contradiction between these two paragraphs: *"Brothers: If these bad Indians continue the war, we will send a large army to Fort Washington on the Ohio next year."* Then afterward; *"Such warriors* as wish to go must be there by *the first day of next June"* for the date of the said talk is the 17th of February of the current year 1792.[51]

The Second letter or talk of the Governor of the Territory South of the Ohio for the Americans, William Blount, supports the Second paragraph of the talk of General Washington, when it says, *"I beg* that you will *come to meet me in Nashville about June* 15, etc."[52]

At the end of last year, 1791, congress held a Secret session behind closed doors,[53] the object of which was, According to reports at the time, the war with the Northern Indians who had completely defeated the American army; as a result the extraordinary levy on the fourteen United States was begun, which still Continues, and an Army is being gathered on the Ohio,[54] the rapid assembling of which seems to have been retarded by distance, lack of money, and fear inspired by the recent defeat, so that last June it scarcely consisted of three thousand men, who had still in front of them Twenty thousand Indians.

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[47]A.G.I., P.C., 177. Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Conde de Aranda, succeeded Floridablanca as prime minister in 1792.

[48]For data on trader Simon Favre see *Publications*, No. 22 (1950), 145-46.

[49]Anthony Foster, David Smith, and James Randolph Robertson, cited in note 6.

[50]Carondelet to Aranda, July 7, 1792, is found in Archivo Historico Nacional, Seccion de Estado, legajo 3898.

[51]Knox to the Choctaw Nation, February 17, 1792, is printed in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 248. The copy sent to Aranda by Carondelet (merely dated 1792) is reproduced in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley, III*, 406.

[52]Blount to the Choctaw Nation, May 10, 1792. He had sent another on April 21 of that year. Both are in *ibid.*, III, 607.

[53]A reference to the investigation of Gen. Arthur St. Clair's defeat by northern Indians. Washington had sent a message to both houses on December 12, 1791. *Annals of Congress*, III, 242, 1052-59.

[54]Note Gen. James Wilkinson's comments on United States efforts to deal with the northern Indian problem at this time in his letter to Carondelet on December 17, 1792, legajo 2374, to be printed in the next installment. In this letter it is evident that Wilkinson hoped to be placed in command, and must have been quite disappointed when Gen. Anthony Wayne was appointed instead.

This slowness, which will make impossible the operations of this Army until October or November, a time in which the cold and snow suspends such things in those countries, makes it important to note the action of some men who have begun so early to take measures to gather an Army; the determination with which the United States work to win the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations who molest them infinitely, and cut them off from communication with the settlements by way of the Mississippi River whenever they want to go Down it; the expenditures they make to attract them to their Army; the reports they Spread among the Indians that the Spaniards have to leave Louisiana, all indicate, or give occasion for just Suspicion about the destiny of that Army, for which the best time for operating against Louisiana will be the beginning of the coming winter; then the waters of the River beginning to rise will make it navigable for the large Boats which come Down the Ohio; Lower Louisiana Being in a more temperate climate than the Banks of the Ohio, those people will not be molested or Feel the cold in it. The diseases of autumn likewise disappear at the beginning of winter, Food is abundant, and lastly they would have the time necessary to arrive, and become accustomed to discipline and other fatigues and Services of Army life.

By attracting the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians to their Army On the Ohio this summer, they may possibly plan to use them in a war against the Northern Indians; and it will be easy to attract them, since by getting them drunk and leading them against an Indian army, naturally some on one side or the other will be killed, and war will be declared and last for years between them in accord with their laws and customs, which will destroy my plan for uniting the nations of the North with ours to stop the continued usurpations of the Americans.

Since it is therefore of the greatest importance to prevent the Chiefs and Warriors from going to Nashville and from there to the American Army, I have now sent orders to the Captain of the Grenadiers of the fixed Regiment here, Don Juan de la Villebeuvre, whom in confidential letter No. 2[55] I have recommended to His Majesty to reside in the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations in the capacity of Commissary of the King, to go immediately to the King of the Chickasaws, and Franchimastabe the Great Chief of the Choctaws, to discover and stop the intrigues and falsehoods which the three aforesaid commissioners of congress and their partisans are spreading in those nations: The urgency and importance of the Case has caused me to decide to give him a provisional appointment as Commissary of His Majesty to those nations, assigning him eight hundred pesos extra salary on the same terms agreed to by His Majesty in favor of Don Pedro Olivier,[56] recently appointed commissary to the Creek nation, the approval of which I hope Your Excellency will beg of His Majesty.

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[55]This letter has not been located.

[56]Pedro Olivier, a Spanish officer of French descent, was sent into the Creek nation by Carondelet to check upon Alexander McGillivray, and if possible take his place as mentor for the Creeks. Miró had recommended such a move as early as August of 1789, and after the Treaty of New York of 1790 it seemed imperative. J. W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Okla., 1938), 307. Carondelet's instructions to Olivier, February 8, 1792, are in A.G.I., P.C., legajo 122A.

If His Majesty will deign to grant the assistance that I requested in Confidential letter No 4[57] of this month, I will answer for Louisiana in any event, and that the United States will be obliged to Sue for peace from the Indians within a few years to prevent the total destruction of their settlements, the Spanish nation remaining Predominant on this continent with the Indian nations looking to her as their powerful and disinterested protector and shield. Until these provinces have a numerous population their greatest force against the United States Will Always be the Indian nations whose preservation it is indispensable to watch over with the greatest care, making of them a Barrier at any cost, to Keep the American Settlements far from the dominions of His Majesty.

God etc. July 25, 1792

His Excellency the Conde de Aranda.

[Translation]

WELCH TO McGILLIVARY, CHOCTAW NATION, AUGUST 8, 1792[58]

Translation

Choctaw Nation August 8, 1792, = Sir = A few days ago Mr. Ballew arrived at my House with his Indians, coming from the Cherokee Nation, and going to the Spanish Government, He informs me that the Americans intend to build a Fort at the mouth of Bare Creek,[59] on the Tennesee River and to construct two large warehouses for the Indian Trade, for which purpose they have sent to look for Choctaws, and Chickasaws, in order that they may go to Cumberland, and if this is effected according to their intentions it will destroy the Trade of the South; I hope you will use all your efforts and influence to hinder this. I have advised Mr. Ballew to go to see you immediately. He is well informed of all their plans. He lived in the Chickasaw Nation during the War with the Americans, He was with Captain Colbert,[60] and he distinguished himself as a true supporter of King George. I know nothing more; but he seems adaptable to my disposition, and ill enough disposed toward the Americans, = P.S. = Sir = As all the Whites in this land have left the River and taken refuge in the Villages, I remain alone with my family; I will be happy if you will inform the Indians that I want to live in Peace, that I have no Americans with me, and that I only want to live in Peace = Your Friend = Mr. McGillivray = You will decifer everything for you are a better Scholar than I.

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[57]Carondelet to Aranda, July 7, 1792, cited in note 50.

[58]A.G.I., P.C., 38. Robert Welch was a trader to the Choctaws.

[59]Bear Creek, better known then as Ochappo, enters the Tennessee River near the Alabama-Mississippi line. To establish a post there had been one of the aims of Major John Doughty's expedition up the Tennessee in 1790. See Colton Storm's edition of Doughty's report to the secretary of war, "Up the Tennessee in 1790," in *Publications*, No. 17 (1945), 118-32.

[60]For James Colbert's activities during the Revolution see D. C. Corbitt, "James Colbert and the Spanish Claims to the East Bank of the Mississippi," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XXIV (March, 1938), 457-72.

ROBERT WELCH TO THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT MOBILE, AUGUST 15, 1792[61]

August the 15th 1792

Sir a few Days ago Mr Bellow [Bellew] Came hear from the Cherokee Nation of indians with Several of the Same Nation on his way to Spanish government But the indians But the indians, [*sic*] Being taken sick at my house & Could not come any farther I was oblige to assist in sending them Back to the Chickasaws Mr. Bellow Applied to mi for A letter of Recommondation I no nothing more then He aways Behavd. him self as an honest Man & I Believe on a good intention I am Sir yr. most

Humble Savt
Robert Welch

[Address to:]
To
the Commandor
in chiefe at Mobile

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[61]A.G.I., P.C., 38.

EARLY EAST TENNESSEE TAXPAYERS

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

IV, Grainger County, 1799[1]

Grainger County, named for Mary Grainger, wife of William Blount, was one of the counties created in the year Tennessee became a state. On April 22, 1796, the general assembly passed an "Act for erecting part of the county of Hawkins and part of the county of Knox into a separate and distinct county." By section 1 of this act the bounds of the county were laid out.

> That the said counties of Hawkins and Knox be divided by the following lines: Beginning on the main road leading from Bull's Gap to Haines's iron works on Mossy creek, at the house of Felps Read, leaving said house in the new county, running a direct course to the Kentucky road, on the north side of Holston river, a quarter of a mile above the house of Thomas Henderson; thence north fifty degrees west to the line that divides this state from the state of Virginia; thence west with said line to a point, north west of the end of Clinch mountain; thence a direct course to the end of Clinch mountain; thence with the ridge that divides the waters of Richland and Flat creeks to Holston river, at the upper end of the first bluff above Boyle's old place; thence up the meanders of said river to the mouth of Panther creek; thence up said creek to the head spring thereof, near the house of John Evans; thence along the main waggon road to the beginning.[2]

The county was attached to Hamilton District.[3]

By acts of the general assembly the lines of Grainger, Hawkins, Knox, and Jefferson counties were altered many times in the nineteenth century, and since 1801 Grainger County has been partitioned in the formation of many other counties. In 1801 parts of Grainger County were erected into the new counties of Anderson and Claiborne.[4] In 1806 parts of Anderson and Claiborne were created into Campbell County,[5] and in 1844 Hancock County was created out of Hawkins and Claiborne.[6] In 1850 Union County

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[1]For introduction to this series see East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 23 (1951), 115-16. Hereafter cited E. T. H. S. *Publications*. For their assistance in preparation of No. IV, the compiler wishes to thank Mrs. Penelope Johnson Allen, Chattanooga; Mrs. Charles F. Wayland, Sr., Knoxville; and Prentiss Price, Rogersville, Tennessee.

[2]George Roulstone (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1803), 95-96. Hereafter cited as Roulstone, *Laws*.

[3]*Ibid.*, Sec. 7.

[4]*Ibid.*, 274, 279-81.

[5]Edward Scott (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee, Including Those of North Carolina Now in Force in This State From the Year 1715 to the Year 1820, Inclusive*, 2 vols. (Knoxville, 1821), I, 945.

[6]Henry D. Whitney (comp. and ed.), *The Land Laws of Tennessee . . .* (Chattanooga, 1891), 785. Hereafter cited as Whitney, *Land Laws*.

was created out of portions of Grainger, Knox, Anderson, Campbell, and Claiborne counties.[7] Twenty years passed before any more territory was removed; in that year Hamblen County was erected out of Grainger, Jefferson, and Hawkins counties.[8]

When Grainger County was organized at the house of Benjamin McCarty on June 13, 1796, the following justices, appointed by Governor John Sevier, were present: Thomas Henderson, Elijah Chisum, James Blair, John Estes, Felps Reed, Benjamin McCarty, James Moore, John Bowen, John Kidwell, John Simms, William Thompson, and Major Lea.[9] Ambrose Yancey was elected sheriff; Felps Reed, register; John Estes, ranger; James Moore, coroner. Jesse James, Reuben White, William Smith, Elias Davis, John Rhea, John Hibbert (or Hibberd), Samuel Cox, and James Russell were elected constables.

The first deed probated was a conveyance from Sarah Blair and James Blair, Jr., administrators of the estate of James Blair, to Richard Thompson.[10]

Rutledge, the county seat, was not selected until 1799 although commissioners had been appointed in the act establishing the county.[11] The commissioners appointed for that purpose, Michael Massingale, Henry Howell, Jacob Vanhooser, William Milligan, and John Bristo, selected a site on the plantation of Martin Ashburn. During the intervening time the court met at the house of Captain John Bunch on Richland Creek, doubtless not far from the present site of Rutledge.

The justices each year were ordered to "take in" a list of the taxable property in the county. In the act creating the county the limit of the tax was prescribed. The county courts in Tennessee were authorized to levy a tax on property by a legislative act passed October 25, 1797,[12] in which types of taxable property were listed and the method of taking the taxes was prescribed. Other acts were passed amending minor provisions of this act, but it remained substantially the same until civil districts were established by the Constitution of 1834.

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[7]*Acts*, 1849-50 (Ch. 61, sec. 1), 181.

[8]Whitney, *Land Laws*, 870.

[9]Grainger County Minutes of Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (Courthouse, Rutledge; typewritten copy, University of Tennessee Library). Hereafter cited as Minutes.

[10]*Ibid.*, June 13, 1796.

[11]The commissioners were: David Hailey, Major Lea, Benjamin McCarty, Bartley (or Bartlett) Marshall, and James Blair, Jr.

[12]Roulstone, *Laws*, 114-20.

By the provisions of the act of 1797 white polls consisted of "all free males and male servants between the age of twenty one and fifty years"; slaves, "all slaves male and female, between the age of twelve and fifty years."

The justices of Grainger County were ordered to take in lists of taxable property for year 1799 on February 21. On August 23 the following tax rates[13] were set:

For each white poll	.12½
For each 100 acres of land	.12½
For each Black poll	.25
For each stud horse Kept for covering mares	.25
For each town lott	.12½

The following lists are transcribed from a microfilm copy of an original certified copy returned by Ambrose Yancey, Grainger County court clerk, to the Tennessee general assembly, now on file in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville. They are not of record in Grainger County. These lists have been microfilmed by the compiler, and are available in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library. The Library also has original tax lists for Grainger County for other years.

No attempt has been made to make extensive identification of the names on these lists. The sources for information on these names are extensive. The records of Grainger County, with a few exceptions, have been preserved and are available in the courthouse at Rutledge. Typewritten copies of some of the early county records were made by the Tennessee Historical Records Survey. A complete set of the transcriptions is available in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, and some books at the University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville. The McClung Historical Collection has typewritten, photostatic, and microfilm copies of various records.

Key to Column Numbers
[1] Land
[2] White polls
[3] Black polls
[4] Stud Horses
[5] Town Lots

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[13] *Minutes*, August 23, 1799.

Tax List in the bounds of Capt. Coxes Company Takin in by William Hankins Esquire. [1799]

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Acuff, Christopher		1			
Ady, Loyd		1			
Alsop, John		1			
Alsop, John		1			
Black, John	120	1			
Boyd, Robert	400	1			
Beaty, John	200	1			
Brock, Allen	200	1			
Bready, John	100	1			
Brock, George		1			
Cobb, William[14]	1170	1	16	1	
Churchman, Edward		1	1	1	
Churchman, Thomas	200		1		
Cornelius, John		1			
Cox, Thomas	361	1	2		
Coats, Charles	161	1			
Dent, John		1			
Campbell, James	680	1	1		
Dyer, James		1			
Forguson, James	88				
Feers, Jacob		1			
Garner, Obediah		1			
Goen, Thomas		1			
Gibson, Jacob		1			
Garnagan [Jarnagin], Chesley[15]	750	1			
Gibbs, John	498				
Gaines, Robert		1			
Garnagan, Thomas[16]	1475				
Hawkins, John	150	1			
Hawkins, Henry	400	1			
Hawkins, Thomas		1			
Hailey, David			1		

[14]Much misinformation has appeared in print about the Cobbs. The Cobbs came from Northampton County, North Carolina, to Watauga in the 1770's. This William Cobb was the son of Benjamin Cobb as is proved by a power of attorney in Washington County, Tennessee, dated September 20, 1793. It was at William Cobb's home in Washington County that Governor William Blount made his home 1790-92. By 1797 William Cobb had moved to Grainger County, and in 1799 he sold his Washington County land. A change of county lines in 1801 placed him in Knox County where he died late in 1802. His widow Sally and his brother Pharoah Cobb of Hawkins County were his administrators. He seems to have been twice married. By his first wife Isabella he had a daughter Sally who married Marston Mead by 1807 and moved to Blount County, Alabama. By his second wife Sally, he had a son William Pharoah Cobb (1798-1827) who married Martha Todd. Their descendants live at Mascot, Tennessee. William Cobb's widow Sally, a wealthy woman, married the Reverend Thomas Wilkerson in August, 1807.

[15](1753-1830), married Mary Witt, daughter of Charles Witt.

[16](Nov. 25, 1774-April 17, 1826); married Martha Barton Mar. 9, 1793, in Jefferson County, Tenn.

Hailey, David	1000	1	
Hodges, James		1	
Hogg, Obediah		1	
Howard, William	1040	1	
Hankins, Edward		1	
Hankins, William	400	1	
Hankins, Abel	250	1	
Hall, James	200	1	
Hamilton, Peter	150	1	
Humberd, William	1000		
Henson, Pall		1	
Hamilton, James	185	1	
Hughs, Robert		1	
Hogg, Reubin		1	
Jones, Harwood	500	1	2
Isaac, Elijah		1	
Inman, Joseph	133	1	
Inman, William		1	
Johnston, Daniel		1	
Kitchen, Jessee		1	
King, William		1	1
Lea, Major[17]	375	1	1
Mitchell, William	172	1	
McDonald, Jane	400		
Mayberry, Francis	1780		
Melicoat, James		1	
Martin, George	180	1	
Mullins, John		1	
Newgin, Thomas		1	
Patterson, John	369		
Perrin, Joel		1	
Perrin, Joseph	200		4
Robertson, James	127	1	
Richards, John		1	
Stone, Robert	400	1	3
Sharp, John	200	1	
Sotherland, Daniel		1	
Sotherland, George		1	
Steward, Alexander	350		
Vances, James	300	1	
Vinyard, John	171	1	
Ware, William		1	
Waddle, Daniel		1	

[17]A Baptist minister (May 21, 1771-July 16, 1822); married, Nov. 17, 1793, Lavinia Jarnagin.

List of Taxable property in part of the Bounds of Captain [Isaac] Lane's Company[18] taken by John Bristo, Esqr. 1799.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Arnwin, James	200	1			
Arnwin, John	180			1	
Acuff, John		1			
Acuff, Cain		1			
Blackwood, William		1			
Beelor, Daniel	320	1			
Beelor, John	240		1		
Beelor, Peter	640	1			
Bean, Stephen	400	1			
Bean, John[19]	1000				
Bean, John H.		1			
Bull, George		1			
Bunch, David		1			
Bunch, Martin		1			
Bodle, James	70	1			
Bristo, John	200	1			
Casey, John	220	1			
Casey, Samuel		1			
Casey, James		1			
Cearle, George	320	1			
Clark, Samuel	300	1			
Clark, Edward	360		1		
Capish [Cabbage], Adam		1			
Capish, John	1	1			
Claunch, Barnet		1			
Claunch, John	50	1			
Colen, Joshua		1			
Cheek, Dauson	100	1			
Dunn, Thomas	200	1			
Dodson, Samuel		1			
Frye, Gabriel		1			
Grifith, John		1			
Ginnings, [Jennings], Hezekiah		1			
Ginnings, Royal[20]	200	1			
Harriss, Richard	90	1			
Howeth, William		1			
Holt, Edward		1			
Holt, David		1			
Holt, David, Snr	200	1			

[18]These people lived north of Clinch Mountain to Clinch River.

[19]Revolutionary soldier; commissioned captain, Tennessee militia, Oct. 10, 1796. Mrs. John Trotwood Moore (comp.), *Record of Commissions of Officers in the Tennessee Militia, 1796-1811* (Nashville, 1947), 13. Hereafter cited as Moore, *Commissions*.

[20]Revolutionary War pensioner.

Gilington [Gillentine], Nicholas[21]		1	
Heziah, Richard	75	1	
Forgeson, Benjn		1	
Morris, John	1	1	
Moore, Abner	1	1	
Windham, Rachel[22]	200		4
McFarren, Sam'l		1	
Miller, Harmon		1	
Terry, Richard		1	
Petre, George	200	1	
Petre, Adam		1	
Petre, John		1	
Petre, Daniel	1	1	
Piercefield, Sam'l		1	
Rambsy, Sam'l		1	
Shockley, Richard		1	
Shaw, Benjamin	600	1	
Smith, Josiah	150	1	
Stafford, Stephen		1	

List of Taxes and Taxable property in the Bounds of Capt. Horner's Company taken in by William Arnold, Esq. 1799.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Ashburn, Martin[23]	600	1	2		1
Arnet, Jacob[24]	600	1			
Alsop, James	235	1			
Arnold, William	400	1	1		
Baker, John	250	1			
Bird, John	100				
Boatman, George		1			
Boatman, Henry	203	1			
Combe, Philip	300	1			
Cotton, Jacob	200	1			
Cox, Richard		1			
Clay, William[25]	110	4			
Coffey, Meredith	200	1			
Christian, Allen	50	1			
Churchman, John		1			
Chamberlin, Jere[26]	670		5		
Conley, John	100	1	1		
Colleson, James	300	1			
Churchman, Edw	550				
Dumvell, Robert	240				

[21]Ancestor of the Sequatchie Valley family.
[22]Widow of Reuben Windham who died 1795 in Hawkins County.
[23]First sheriff of Grainger County.
[24]Left will in Grainger County, dated April 28, 1825.
[25]Revolutionary War pensioner.
[26]Revolutionary soldier.

Duncan, William		1	
Elliot, Jacob		1	
Elliot, Benj		1	
Eaton, Joseph[27]	172		
Guinn [Gwinn], Wm	200	1	
Garrot [Garrett, Jarrett], Absalom		1	
Ginnings [Jennings], Thomas		1	
Ginnings, Wm		1	
Gilmore, John[28]	200	1	
Gipson [Gibson], Garrot		1	
Gipson, Archeles	100	1	
Gilmore, John	350		
Harris, Even	400	1	
Harris, Robert		1	
Hinshaw, John	300	1	
Humphrys, John[29]		1	
Hickman, James	100		
Horner, John	300	1	
Horner, James	100	1	
Hall, John		1	
Howard, Richard	300		
Jones, Thomas	140	1	
Jarnagan [Jarnigan], Noe[30]	500	1	
Long, Joseph	67	1	
Moore, James	405	1	
Murphey, Wm		1	
Mitchell, Benjn		1	
Medlock, John	300	1	2
Morgan, Valentine		1	
Miller, George	57	1	
Morrow, Alexd	244		3
Miller, Martin	150	1	
McFarson [McPherson], Henry		1	
Moore, Sam'l	300		
Moore, James, Esqr	380	1	
Martin, John	86	1	
Maxfield, Seth		1	
Nation, Joseph	320		
Owen, John	274	1	
ODonald, Michel		1	
Ore, Joseph	300	1	1
Pressgrove, George		1	
Perry, Samuel	238	1	
Richardson, James	490	1	

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[27]Left will in Grainger County, dated June 18, 1808.

[28]Left will in Grainger County, dated July 16, 1804.

[29]Came to Grainger County from Surry County, N. C.

[30]Born July 9, 1768; married Mary Russell, daughter of George Russell; active in public life, he was the enumerator of the federal census of 1810.

Rice, Henry[31]	620	1	
Ray, Joseph		1	
Short, James		1	
Smith, Aron	400	1	
Scrogins, Barton		1	
Smith, Thomas	250	1	1
Tracker, Edward		1	
Trogdon, Ezecheal	122	1	
Thompson, James	330		
Thompson, Temple	400		
Underhill Wm		1	
Winds, Enoch		1	
Whitehead, Robt.		1	
Williams, Wm		1	
Whitlock, James	385	1	
Williams, Jonathan		1	
Williams, John	200	1	

List of Taxes and Taxable property in the Bounds of Capt. Bowman's Co. taken by John Vanbibber, Esqr. for the year 1799.[32]

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Ausemus, Peter		1			
Adkins, Thomas		1			
Bowman, Wm		1			
Banneth, John		1			
Berry, John		1			
Boydstone, Thomas		1			
Birdsong, John		1			
Canterberry, Zecheriah		1	1		
Canterberry, John		1			
Coffelt, Daniel		1			
Cain, David		1			
Camron [Cameron], Ezra		1			
Dowtherd, Evan		1			
Devees [Dwees], James		1	1		
Derry luney, Michel		1			
Dunkin, Samuel		1			
Davis, Moses		1			
Fenley, James			1		
Grifith, George		1			
Garrot, Isaac		1			
Hunter, Henry		1			
Hafaker [Halfacre, Huffaker], Michael [33]		1			
Howard, Robert		1			

[31]Died about 1818 in Campbell (now Union) County, Tenn.; a Revolutionary soldier, he settled at New Canton, in present Hawkins County, by 1775; settlement known as Rice's Mill.

[32]These people's land fell into Claiborne County upon its creation in 1801.

[33]First sheriff of Campbell County, Tenn.

Hamblin, John	1		
Hart, Hardy	1		
Keywood, Stephen	1		
Keywood, Benjn	1		
King, William	1		
Kirklin, Moses	1		
Kincaid, James	1		
Lewis, Abner	1		
Linch [Lynch], Jeremiah	1		
Munkas, John	1		
Marele, Laurence	1		
Marele, Peter	1		
Newport, Carana [Cavanaugh?]	1		
Powers, Jessee	1		
Pock [?], Thomas	1		
Reed, Solomon	1		
Rul [Ruhl, Rule], George	1		
Shaw, John	1		
Starr, James	1		
Skidmore, Henrix	1	1	
Vanbibber, James	1		
Vanbiber, John	1	1	
Vanbibber, Peter	1		
Weaver, Saml' Jun	1		
Weaver, Joseph	1		
Weaver, Sam'l Snr	1		
Weaver, John	1		
Whitestton [Whitecotton], Isaac	1		
Yoakum, George[34]	2		1

List of Taxes and Taxable property in the Bounds of Capt. Halfacre's Company as returned by M. Simes, Esqr. 1799.[35]

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Adams, George		1			
Arthur, Elias		1			
Adams, John		1			
Auston, William, Junr.		1			
Benson, Chirchester		2			
Berry, James	1440				
Baker, Joseph		2			
Bennett, Thomas		1			
Cowan, Alexander		1			
Collums, George		1			
Cleek, John		1			
Cox, Josiah		1			

[34]Along with other settlers principally from Hampshire County, Va. (now West Va.), established Yoakum's Station, in present Claiborne County.

[35]See footnote 31, *supra*.

Cowan, Samuel		1	1		
Chilton, Wm		1			
Cline, Peter		1			
Doherty, Wm. Senr.		1	2		
Harbert, David		1			
Halfacre, Peter		1			
Haskins, Thomas		1			
Hoskins, Elias		1			
James, Wm		1			
Jordan, Ezekiah	640	2			
Lusk, Samuel		1	1		
Lane, William		1	1		
Lee, John	88	1			
Lee, James	600				
Martin, Daniel		1			
McFarland, Duncan		1			
Owen, John, Senr		2			
Owen, William		1			
Peveehous, Abraham	500				
Rains, Henry		1	2		
Ritchee, Alexd[36]	100				
Rector, George		1			
Renfro, James		1	2		
Smith, Gedion		1	1	1	
Stinnett, Isom		1	1		
Stinnett, Benjamin			2		
Stevenson, Edward		1	1		
Stinson, George		1			
Stinson, Robert		1			
Sholley, Michael	200				
Tate, John		1			
Tate, Samuel	600	1	1		
Wallen, Elisha, Junr.		1			
Walker, John		1			
Willson, George		1			
Wallen, Elisha, Senr.	2570		8		

List of Taxes and Taxable property in the Bounds of Captn David Shelton's Company Returned by Isaiah Midkiff, Esqr. for the year 1799.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Butcher, Barney	135	1			
Brown, John		1			
Burton, John		1			
Buzby, John	150	1			
Brown, Wm		1			
Coulter, John	1400		1		
Curkham [Kirkham], Wm	200	1			

[36]Revolutionary War pensioner.

Carmichael, James	400	1			
Donathan, Elijah	200	1		1	
Dodson, James	640	1			
Denson, William		1			
Evans, David		1			
Evans, Joel		1			
Evens, Davis	196	1			
Green, John	200	1			
Grisham, James		1			
Garvis [Jarvis], Suks Luke [?]		1			
Guffee [Guffey], Ephim	100	1			
Hudgings, Robert	50	1	1		
Hudgings, Ambrose		1			
Jackson, Reubin	50	1			
Kimra [?], George		1			
McMane, Dominy		1			
Midkiff, Isaih[87]	95	1			
McDonald, Isaac	300				
Morgan, Henry	150	1			
McEnelly [McAnally], Charles		1			
McGee, John		1			
Norton, Nathan		1		1	
Noe, Joseph Snr	310				
Noe, Joseph Junr		1			
Norton, William	100	1			
Piles, Conrod		1		1	
Rich, Thomas		1			
Rail [Rayl], Sam'l		1			
Phillips, Hezekiah	75	1			
Reddis, James		1			
Runnels [Reynolds], James		1			
Rains, John		1			
Shelton, David	5301	1	2		
Shelton, Richard		1			
Suirlock [?], Samuel		1			
Shote, Gabriel		1			
Shelton, William	100	1			
Shelton, Ralph	250	1			
Smith, Charles	400	1	1		
Shelton, David		1			
Willson, John		1	1		
Williams, Wm. Junr.		1			
Williams, Wm. Senr.	140	1			

List of Taxes and Taxable property in the bounds of Capt. [George] Bean's Company, returned by William Stone Esquire 1799.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Auston, Nathaniel		1			

[87]Revolutionary War pensioner.

Arno, Peter		1		
Bean, Jessee[38]		1	2	
Bean, George	50	1	1	
Bean, Elizabeth	200			
Bowen, John	190	1		
Bowen, James		1		
Bowen, Henry Senr[39]	200		1	
Bowen, Henry, Junr.	414	1		
Bunch, Thomas		1		
Blair, William		1		
Briant [Bryant], Joseph	150	1		
Beelor, Joseph		1		
Bliar [Blair], James Junr	200	1		
Bliar, Robert		1		
Bliar, Alexd		1	2	
Buzby, Thomas	20			
Blair, James, Snr	450		2	
Blair, William	200	1		
Counts, Nicholas[40]	327	1	1	
Carnes [Carns, Karns, etc.], Michael	300			
Carnes, Michael Jr		1		
Cooper, Isaac		1		
Campbell, David		1		
Combs, George	425	1		
Crabb, Francis		1		
Crabb, John		1		
Counts, John	200			
Cocke, William[41]	2250			
Crabb, Joseph, Dec'd	640			
Cobb, Joseph[42]	1798	1	1	
Cuningham, Joshua		1		
Henderson, William	286	1		1
Haygood, Tapley		1		
Hipsheers, Mathias		1		
Henderson, Thomas[43]	650		1	

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[38]Revolutionary War soldier; for an account of him and the Bean family see Mrs. Penelope John Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *Chattanooga Times*, July 8, 1934.

[39]Revolutionary War soldier; left will in Grainger County, dated Mar. 26, 1806.

[40]Member of family of German origin; Revolutionary War pensioner.

[41](1748-Aug. 22, 1828); served in the legislatures of seven states and territories and the United States Senate. For a sketch of this remarkable man see *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1944), IV, 255-56.

[42]Born in Virginia, probably Southampton County in 1769, the son of William. He was early in Grainger County where he married in December, 1797, Mrs. Sarah Smith Blair, widow of Lieutenant Colonel John Blair. There were six children. Joseph Cobb lived at Bean's Station and was a prominent surveyor, and served in the Indian wars. In his old age he moved to Madison County, Tenn., where he died in 1857. His oldest son was Dr. Pharoah Boone Cobb (1798-1889), of Henderson County, Tenn., and Hernando, Miss.

[43]Captain in the Revolutionary War; chairman of first county court of Grainger County; lived at Rocky Spring; removed to Sequatchie Valley.

Hill, William		1		
Hipsheer, Henry		1		
Inglish, Wm dec'd[44]	300			
Jones, William		1		
Jones, Aqualla		1	1	
King, Robert	300			
King, Robert & Thomas	2780			
King, Thomas	1280			
Leabo, Henry	200	1		
Leabo, John	200	1	2	
Leabo, Jacob				
McDonald, Alexd				
Midkiff, John	50	1		
McElkeny [McIlhaney], John		1		
McElkeny, Robt		1		
Moses		1		
Mumpouer, John	100	1		
Mcbroom, Thomas[45]	250	1	2	
Masangale [Massengill], Mikel[46]	200	1	5	
Massey, Jonathan		1		
Mitchell, Richard[47]	1875			
Noe, John		1		
Noe, Peter		1		
Ore, James[48]	3215	1	10	
Patterson, Robert	100	1	1	1
Pannel, Thomas	50	1		
Robertson, Daniel, Jnr	184	1		
Robertson, Hughes	184	1		
Rusel [Russell], Elizabeth[49]	300			
Runnolds, John		1		
Radle, John		1		
Rule, Peter		1		
Sharp, George		1		
Shelton, Nelson		1		

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[44]Massacred by the Indians, December, 1787; his son Matthew English returned to Grainger County after being ransomed from captivity among the Indians; recovered the Bean Station property through a lawsuit and then sold out to Jenkin Whiteside and removed to Rhea County, Tenn., where he lived on White's Creek. Goodspeed Publishing Company, *History of Tennessee*, East Tennessee edition (Chicago, 1887), 875.

[45]Removed to Madison County, Ala.

[46]Revolutionary War pensioner.

[47]Resident of Hawkins County, Tenn.

[48]Born in Cecil County, Maryland, Nov. 28, 1762; died June 24, 1812, at Nickojack, Cherokee Nation; a Revolutionary soldier, he moved from Virginia to Tennessee in 1791; commissioned lieutenant colonel, Grainger County, 1796; commanded successful Nickojack Expedition against Lower Towns of the Cherokees, Sept. 13, 1794, as second major of Hawkins County; Indian trader and business partner of John Sommerville with stores at Knoxville and Bean Station; established a grist mill and tavern at Nickojack, where he died.

[49]Widow of George Russell, Revolutionary company commander at Battle of King's Mountain.

Smith, Bartholomeu[50]	520	1	1		
Smith, Harbert		1			
Short, James	250				
Senter, Willis		1			
Smith, John		1			
Wood, John		1			
Williams, Lewis		1			
Windham, Wm Junr		1	1		
Windham, Wm Senr		1			
Ward, John	200	1			
Yancy, Robert	200	1		1	
Yancy, Ambrose[51]		1			

Lists of Taxes and Taxable Property in the bounds of Capt. Hamilton's Co. returned by Andrew Evans Esquire 1799.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Arwin, John		1			
Archer, Cornelius		1			
Asher, Daniel		1			
Asher, Robertson		1			
Brown, James	300	1			
Braden, Edward	200	1			
Braden, John		1			
Black, John	500	1			
Buckner, Presley		1			
Brown, James		1			
Brown, Thomas		1			
Brokis, William	100	1			
Bruston, James		1			
Berry, James	640				
Blunt [Blount], Willie[52]	2220				
Caps, Jacob		1			
Craft, Ezechiel		1			
Cook, William	500	1			
Clark, Henry		1			
Clifton, Hardy		1			
Clifton, William	300				
Coats, Jessee	400	1			
Condrey, Benjamin	850	1			
Condrey, Dennis	100	1			
Cood, William		1			
Carwiles, John		1			
Cook, Aron		1			
Davis, Elnathan		1			
Dale, Alexander		1			

[50]Removed to Dickson County, Tenn.

[51]Revolutionary War pensioner and first clerk of Grainger County.

[52]Later governor of Tennessee (1809-1815).

Davis, Isaac		1		
Dennis, Joseph	300	1		
Dale, Abel	400	1		
Dennis, Thomas		1		
Green, Joseph[53]	1100			
Green, James	400			
Gambell, Thomas		1		
Hudson, John		1		
Harelson, John		1		
Hamilton, Wm	2029	1		1
Harelson, Wm	333			1
Hudelton, John		1		
Hopper, Archeble	400	1		
Harris, John	100	1		
Hutcherson, Charles[54]	100	1		
Hutcherson, Paul	100	1		
Hudson, Ezekiel		1		
Hudson, Obediah				1
Hudson, James		1		
Hudson, Benjn	200	1		
Harmon, Wm		1		
Hughs, Hardy		1		
Hughs, John		1		
Hord, William	1200			
Jackson, Nathan		1		
James, Jessee		1		
James, Thomas		1		
James, Wm			2	
James, William		1		
Kirkpatrick, James		1		
Kirkpatrick, John	300	1		
Lewis, Fielding		1	1	
Lower, Peter	200		1	
Lanes, James		1		
Lenor, Young	226	1		
McBee, Sam'l		1		
McBee, Isaac	400	1		
Munrow, Robert	400	1		
Mulkey, John		1		
Moswell, Nimrod	73			
McCarver, Archd	400			
Mosgrove, John	150			
Moore, Robert	100	1		
McFeetrage, Matth	500	1		
McFeeter [McPheeters], And[55]	200	1		
Marlow, Thomas		1		

[53]Resided in North Carolina.

[54]Removed to Bledsoe County, Tenn.

[55]Revolutionary War soldier who drew a pension for his service in Pennsylvania and North Carolina; removed to Indiana, then to Missouri, where he died 1847.

Nash, John		1		
Norris, George		1		
Noll, William[56]	800		4	
Noll, John	200	1	2	
ODonal, John	5000			
Peeters, Nathaniel	400			
Peeters, William	400	1		
Parks, Phillip		1		
Selvage, Jeremiah	333	1		
Sions, Nimrod		1		
Sally, John	200	1		
Stanly, Isaac		1		
Savage, Michael	333	1		
Stafford, Stephen	550	1		
Simes, Matthew		1		
Turner, Robert		1		
Tuttle, Peter		1		
Tuttle, James		1		
Tredway, Isom		1		
Tucker, John		1		
Vangriff, Garret		1		
Wamble, Joshua		1		
Waters, Obediah	400	1		
Widner, Henry		1		
Widner, Lewis[57]	400			
Whitefield, Neadom[58]	400			
Williams, John		1		
Williamson, Hugh	3000			
York, Jabaz		1	1	
York, Semore		1		

List of Taxes and Taxable property in the bounds of Capt. McKees Company as returned by Benjamin McCarty, Esqr for the year 1799.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Bradford, Benja		1			
Bridges, William		1			
Bridges, Thomas		1			
Barton, Henry		1			
Buzby, Thomas	25				
Buzby, John	150	1			
Cocke, John[59]	740	1	6	1	

[56]Revolutionary soldier.

[57]Left will in Grainger County dated Dec. 18, 1806.

[58]Resided in Johnston County, N. C.

[59]Probably Grainger County's most distinguished citizen; son of William and Sarah (Macklin) Cocke, born Dec., 1772, in Brunswick County, Va.; died Feb. 16, 1854, Rutledge, Tenn., where he is buried in Methodist Church Cemetery; major general, Tennessee militia in Creek War; congressman; state senator to the Tennessee legislature from Grainger, Jefferson, and Claiborne counties where he introduced the bill for creating a state school for the deaf, December, 1844.

Connor, Abner		1		
Cooper, Cornelius		1		
Cook, Marcuriovs		1		
Cooper, Wm	50			
Cooper, William		1		
Cox, Richard	60			
Collison, Jonathan Sr	600			
Collison, Jonathan	150	1		
Clark, Henry		1		
Daniel, John	175	1	3	
Daniel, Francis	150	1		
Davis, William	200	1		
Dorah, John		1		
Davis, David	140	1		
Duke, Pleasent	280	1		1
Evans, John	119		3	
Evans, William	350	1		
Formault [Formwalt], John, Sr.	350	2		
Goen, James		1		
Goen, John	90	1		
Grant, Isaac		1		
Howel, Henry	830	1	2	1
Hill, James		1		
Hill, Joab[60]	500	1		
Hodges, Moses		1		
Hays, William		1		
Hodges, Ambrose		1		
Howel, Calip		1		
Howel, John		1		
Howel, William	150	1		
Howel, Melchiah	100	1		
Howel, Benjamin[61]		1		
Jarnagan, John Snr.	200	1		
Jarnagan, Drury		1		
Jarnagan, John		1		
Ivey, Henry	100	1		
Jackson, William		1		
Ivey, Vandimon		1		
Ivey, Backster		1		
Loyd, Owen		1		
Mays, Henry	100	1	1	1
McCarty, James		1		
McKee, Matthew	70	1		
Mason, Reubin		1		
Mays, Sherod	100	1		
Mays, Thomas		1		
Mays, William		1		

[60]Revolutionary War soldier.

[61]Revolutionary War soldier.

McCarty, John		1	
Mitchell, Isaac		1	
Miligan, William	150	1	
McKiver, John for Hudson & Hall	12000		
McCarty, Benjn[62]	300	1	1
Russel, James	200	1	
Russell, John Sr.		1	
Russel, James		1	
Stiffee, John	640	1	1
Smith, William	200	1	
Street, Asa		1	
Stone, William	150		2
Tye, John		1	
Weston, Casper		1	
White, Joseph	482	1	
Campbell, Arthur	640		
Calkahoon, James alias Robert King	640		
Anderson, John	400		
Anderson, Wm	400		
McCarty, James Sr.	950		

List of Taxes and Taxable property in the Bounds of Capt. English Company returned by John Vanbibber, Esqr. 1799.[63]

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Alley, James		1			
Baker, Samuel		1			
Bruton, James		1	2		
Bruton, Samuel		2			
Bruton, Jacob		1			
Carelock, John		1			
Carelock, Joseph		1			
Caismon [Crismon], Isaac		1	1		
Crowly, John		1			
Crowley, William		1	1		
Durham, William		1			
Devees [Dwees?], Charles		1	1		
Davis, James			1		
Foster, Martin		1			
Gipson, James		2			
Inglish, William		1			
Inglish, John		1			
Inglish, Joseph			1		
McDonald, Redmon		1			
McDonal, Michael		1			

[62]Revolutionary War soldier.

[63]Most of these people's land fell into Claiborne County upon its creation in 1801, and later into Campbell County, 1806. See George L. Ridenour, *The Land of the Lake; a History of Campbell County, Tennessee* (LaFollette, 1941), 105-08.

McCracken, James		1			
Mosier, Absolum		1			
Sweeton, Dutton		1			
Sweeton, John		1			
Smith, Andrew		1			
Murrah, Christopher		1			
Sharp, Joseph		1			
Toten, Benjamin		1			
Tacket, Lewis		1			
Vaught, Andrew		1			
Wilhite, Bonard			1		
Williams, Joseph		1			
Womack, Johnston		1			
Womack David		1			

List of Taxes and Taxable property in the Bounds of Capt. Daniel Taylor's Company as returned by John Estes, Esqr. for the year 1799.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Allen, Barnet		1			
August, John		1			
Adams, Roberts Junr		1			
Booker, Barnabas		1			
Bliar, Jossiah					
Cunningham, Thos	100				
Cunningham, James		1			
Cox, Jeremiah		1			
Cox, Harmon	150	1			
Cox, Samuel	100	1			
Cook, William		1			
Corrithers, James		1			
Cooper, John		1			
Cain, Hugh[64]	170	1			
Cannon, John		1			
Davidson, Samuel		1			
Dunkin, John	100	1			
Dunkin, Peter	100	1			
Dodson, Thomas Sr	150		3		
Estes, John [65]	163	1	1		
Estes, Robert	100	1			
Estes, John C.		1			
Estes, Barnet		1			
Estes, Thomas	100	1			
Estes, Ezekiel	774	1			
Hawkins, Samuel B.	200	1			
Estes, Micajah	100	1			

[64](1756-Aug. 21, 1851); a native of County Derry, Ireland; died in Hawkins County.

[65]Revolutionary War pensioner.

Hibbard, Lemuel	240				
Harris, Peter	300	1	2		
Harris, Samuel		1			
Kidwell, Josiah	200	1			
Long, Robert	225	1			
Laremore, Hugh[66]	100	1	1		
Moffet, William	500	2			
Martin, Thomas	75	1			
McMore, Magnes		1			
Marshel, Bartlett[67]	380	1	3		
Murphey, William[68]	359		1		
Neal, William		1			
Nichols, David		1			
Frank (Negro)	200				
Peter (Negro)	125		1		
Johnston, Stephen		1			
Reed, Felps		1			
Riggs, Jessee[69]	400	1	2		
Riggs, Reubin	200				
Runnolds, Richard		1			
Smith, William	1005	2	1		
Sanders, Phillip		1			
Shepley, Edward	150	1			
Taylor, Daniel[70]	100	1			
Thompson, Richard	200	1	2		
Taylor, James[71]	200		2		
Witt, Joel		1			
Webster, Abbigal[72]	200				
Blount, John G	70000				
Churchman, Edwd	550				
Donelson, Stockley & King, James	10000				
Soree, Samuel	8000				

List of Taxes and Taxable property in the bounds of Capt. '[Isaac] Lane's Co. North of Clinch River as returned by Elijah Chisum, Esqr. 1799.[73]

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
Auston, Nathiel	1040	1			

[66]Revolutionary War soldier; married a Miss Rowland, sister of Mrs. Daniel Taylor; born in 1759, moved from Grainger County to McMinn County, Tenn., and in 1840 was living in Cooper County, Missouri.

[67]Revolutionary War soldier.

[68]Revolutionary War soldier; a Baptist minister; married first, Martha Hodges, second, Sarah Barton (1748-1817), sister of the Reverend Isaac Barton.

[69]Came from Surry County, N. C.

[70](Aug. 13, 1761-Nov. 25, 1834); Revolutionary War pensioner from Henry County, Va.; married Jane Rowland.

[71](Feb. 28, 1731-April 4, 1815); Revolutionary War soldier; married Ann Owen; graves removed to Bethesda Cemetery at Cheeks X Roads.

[72]Widow of Reuben Webster, who died Dec. 19, 1790, in Hawkins County.

[73]Most of these people's land fell into Claiborne and Anderson counties.

Acklin, Samuel		1		
Beelar, John		1	2	
Clark, Thomas		1		
Caps, William		1		1
Collins, Elisha		1		
Chisum, James	340		1	
Cogdale, Joseph		1		
Cunningham, John		1		
Crabb, Joseph		1		
Chisum, Elisha Jr.		1		
Clark, Isham		1		
Cobb, Joseph	780			
Chisum, Elisha	97	1		
Dodson, Nimrod	250	1		
Davis, John	100	1		
Devaul, Abraham			1	
Dodson, Jessee Junr	320	1		
Dodson, Jessee Senr.	520	2	1	1
Donelson, Stockley	10000			
Gilbert, John		1		
Green, Funny		1		
Grose, John	320	1		
Groves, John		1		
Hurst, John[74]	500	1		
Henderson, Richard		1		
Hailey, Bărnebas		1		
Henderson, Thomas		1		
Hunt, John	700	1		
Finley, Samuel		1		
Hill, John		1		
Henderson, Thomas		1		
Harris, Peter		1		
Henderson, Richd & Co.	100000			
Johnston, John		1		
Jones, William		1		
Jones, Isaac		1		
Jinings, Wm	300	3		
Jeffers, Thomas	200	1		
Kenney, James	100			
Lockwood, John		1		
Lane, Isaac[75]	320	1	1	
Lewallin, Richd[76]		1		
Langham [Lanham], Abel[77]	650	1		
Langham & Lathim	1000			

[74]Revolutionary soldier.

[75]Revolutionary War pensioner; removed to McMinn County, Tenn. For an account of the Lane family see Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *loc. cit.*, May 13, 20, 27, 1934.

[76]Revolutionary War pensioner born in Prince Edward County, Va.; died in Anderson County, Tenn.

[77]Revolutionary War pensioner.

Wm Lackey Rowan			
Miller, Frederick	340		
Morgan, John		1	
Markham, Beverly		1	
Magers, John		1	
Mower, Nathaniel	200		
Miller, John	400	2	
Mayberry, Francis	640		
Mendingall, Abraham	640		
Neal, Peter	640	1	
Nation, Joseph	320		
Powel, Joseph	320		
Runnolds, William		1	
Roddy, Jessee[78]		1	
Rowan, Henry[79]	1240		
Sharp, Henry[80]	1100	1	1
Sharp, Jacob		1	1
Sharp, Conrod	200	1	2
Sweeton, William		1	
Smith, John		1	
Smith, Ezekiel		1	
Smith, Richard	320		
Smith, Samuel		1	
Savage, William		1	
Shults, Jacob		1	
Simes, James	100	1	
Stroud, William	300	1	1
Suthon, Robert		1	
Shults, Jacob	220	1	
Stubblefield, Lock[81]	300		
Templeton, James		1	
Whittle, Robert		1	
Wright, James		1	
Ward, William	500	1	
Daniel, James	300		2
York, Jeremiah		1	
Evans, Andrew	200	1	

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[78]Son of Colonel John Roddye. See Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree," *loc. cit.*, April 14, 1935.

[79]Married Elizabeth Lathim; in 1815, resident of Overton County, Tenn.

[80]See Mrs. Genevieve E. Peters, *Know Your Relatives . . .* (Washington, D. C., 1953), 10-20.

[81]Robert Loxley Stubblefield of Hawkins County; died 1817.

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Wolfe, Harry Flynn. A history of the Delta air lines.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, Vol. III, *1835-1845.* Edited by Robert H. White. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1954. Pp. x, 797. Illustrations, footnotes, appendix, index. $4.00.)

"The decade from 1835 to 1845 marked the beginning of 'the golden age' of Tennessee history. The Constitution of 1835 gave impetus to an enlarged democracy by abolishing property qualifications as a prerequisite for holding public office, by apportioning legislative representation upon the basis of qualified voters rather than upon taxable inhabitants, and by permitting local justices of the peace and other local officials to be elected by the people. Within this period Tennessee stood fifth in population among the States, and rated first in the production of two of America's most valuable products, corn and swine.

"In the realm of statesmanship and leadership, Tennessee ranked preeminent. In any valid survey of this decade of Tennessee history, cognizance must be taken of the public services of certain of her illustrious citizens among whom were four men who, at one time or another, were candidates for the Presidency of the United States. Two were successful, Andrew Jackson and James Knox Polk; the two unsuccessful candidates were Hugh Lawson White and John Bell. A fifth man, who was a stalwart in Tennessee political life during this era, was Andrew Johnson who later occupied the office of Chief Magistrate of the Nation. Assuredly, 'there were giants' in Tennessee during the decade in question." (Preview.)

Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey: Autobiography and Letters. Edited by William B. Hesseltine. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1954. Pp. xvii, 367. Frontispiece, footnotes, index. $5.00.)

"Dr. Ramsey was sixty-eight when he gathered the remnants of his family under a rented roof in Charlotte, North Carolina, borrowed a horse and doctor's saddle-bags, and resumed the practice of medicine. He returned to his historical interests, and set about to tell the story of his services to Tennessee in days of peace and to the Confederacy in the long years of the war. He told, in an Autobiography, the story of his own and his family's services, their misfortunes, and their bereavements. He was a historian with a historian's sense of the importance of the record. Carefully he recorded his wanderings, his emotions, his frantic haste to save the money of the government and the people entrusted to him. He added the circumstantial items, told the lore—and carefully distinguished the personally known fact from the story as told to him by others . . . .

"In the process I have tried to use Dr. Ramsey's letters to supplement and to round out the Autobiography. On matters which Dr. Ramsey discussed, I have used his letters, in whole or in part, as footnotes to supplement the text. Dr. Ramsey made only passing reference in his Autobiography to his *Annals of Tennessee.* I have broken the Autobiography at an ap-

propriate place to insert a chapter of his letters to Draper which give an intimate picture of the historian at work. Dr. Ramsey attached to his Autobiography an appendix containing seven letters on the subject of slavery and reopening the slave trade. Ignoring his strict injunction not to publish them, I have inserted these letters as a chapter on 'The Industrial Necessities of the South.' The letters which he wrote to Lyman Draper after he finished the Autobiography I have used as the later chapters." (Preface.)

Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army: A Journal Kept by W. W. Heartsill For Four Years, One Month and One Day of Camp Life; Day by Day of the W. P. Lane Rangers from April 19, 1861 to May 20, 1865. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Jackson Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1954. Pp. xxiv, 332. Illustrations, appendices, index. $6.00.)

" 'Unique' is a much abused adjective, but it can be safely applied to the Confederate journal of William Williston Heartsill. The title is strikingly unique; so is the method by which the diary became a book. Heartsill printed the journal himself, one page at a time, on an 'Octavo Novelty Press,' a crude machine which cost about ten dollars. The press was kept at Heartsill's store, and the printing done at odd times when business was slack. Sometimes the completion of a single page required several days; and the printing of the whole book extended over the period December 9, 1874-July 1, 1876. The work was as tedious as it was time consuming. 'In cold weather the ink was too thick,' wrote Heartsill in his preface; 'in the summer I would sometimes get too much on the roller.' Little wonder that when the job was done, the author-printer remarked: 'A 'Second edition' of this journal will never be printed by the undersigned on an 'Octavo Novelty Press.' . . .

"Heartsill printed the journal from a day-by-day record kept during his four years of service. The original account was set down in small notebooks which were sent home one by one as their pages were filled. But portions of the journal were redrafted and further revision was made in the process of setting the type. . . .

"Heartsill was born at Louisville, Tennessee, a little town on the Holston River, near Knoxville, on October 17, 1839. His grandfather was one of the first settlers of Jonesboro, Tennessee, and his father, A. Heartsill, was living in East Tennessee during the war. After attending school in his home community, William Williston Heartsill went to Nashville in 1856 where he secured employment with a wholesale merchandise firm. As a representative of this firm he travelled extensively in Western and Middle Tennessee during the years 1856-1859. This experience was to stand him in good stead later when, as a fugitive from Bragg's army to his own company in Texas, he had to give a curious officer a detailed description of the area.

"Like many other Tennesseans of the period, Heartsill got 'Texas fever' in 1859 and moved to Marshall. But he never forgot the beauty of the Holston River country to which he fondly referred as 'the Switzerland of America.' " (Introduction.)

George Washington Campbell of Tennessee: Western Statesman. By Weymouth T. Jordan. (Tallahassee: Florida State University *Studies,* No. 17, 1955. Pp. x, 214. Bibliography, footnotes, index. $3.50.)

"George Washington Campbell (1769-1848) was born in Scotland, moved to North Carolina at an early age, was educated at Princeton, and entered Congress in 1803. After six years' service in the national House of Representatives, he became, in succession, judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, United States senator, secretary of the treasury of the United States, senator again, minister from the United States to Russia, and later a member of the French Spoliations Claims Commission. . . . He was one of the original 'Warhawks' who demanded that the United States go to war with England, making such a demand long before other public office holders advanced this demand on the eve of the War of 1812. While in the Senate and in President James Madison's cabinet, he sought courageously to find adequate means of conducting and financing the war. . . . For more than a decade after the year 1820 Campbell practiced law and amassed a fortune in and around Nashville, Tennessee, becoming the wealthiest man in his state. . . . He made valuable contributions to the development of legislative, executive, financial, and diplomatic policies of the national government. Next to Henry Clay he was perhaps the best-known politician and statesman of the West during the entire Jefferson period. He does not deserve the obscurity that has been his lot." (Jacket.)

The French Broad. By Wilma Dykeman. (New York: Rinehart and Co., *Rivers of America series,* ed. by Carl Carmer, 1955. Pp. x, 371. Illustrations, map, bibliography, index. $5.00.

"The people of the French Broad have always been fighters—for independence against the British, for land against the Cherokees, against each other in the Civil War, and occasionally against the revenuers. (In keeping with the contradictory character of the area, the illegal distiller and the hell-fire evangelist are equally at home here.)

"Unusual occupations such as herb gathering, hog 'droving' and fine handcrafts have always set this valley apart and now the river has become the seat of vast industries, dependent on lumber and clear water, as well. It was an early resort area, and still is visited by millions annually; Great Smoky National Park, Pisgah National Forest, and a part of the TVA are in the valley of the French Broad. George Vanderbilt's mansion, Biltmore House, is here, and so is the home of Thomas Wolfe.

"Though the valley abounds in delightful folk material, Miss Dykeman has also wisely included important material on such topics as conservation, water pollution, and various other problems attendant on the rapid industrialization of a rural area. The result is an entertaining and informative book on a valley of matchless beauty, interest and growing importance." (Jacket.)

Experiment in Management: Personnel Decentralization in the Tennessee Valley Authority. By Robert S. Avery. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1954. Pp. xi, 212. Chart, index. $4.50.

"The Tennessee Valley Authority has been noted for its experiments in personnel administration hardly less than for its engineering achievements. Two important facets of the Authority's personnel policy have been the program of decentralization of personnel management and the Authority's

program of collective dealing with labor groups, both white and blue collar. Dr. Avery's monograph presents candidly the results of a careful study of TVA policies in operation. The history of the labor relations of the Authority is set forth in detail, beginning with the pioneering development of the Employee Relationship Policy and continuing down to the situation as it existed in 1950. The gradual emergence of a form of union security is traced, and the attitudes and difficulties of public management in this setting are discussed." (Jacket.)

Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion. By Norman A. Graebner. (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1955. Pp. xi, 278. Notes, bibliographical essay, index. $4.50.)

"This volume is an attempt to isolate and explore one particular facet of American expansion to the Pacific: the essential motivation that underlay the acquisition by the United States in the 1840's of a continental domain of specific contour whose western ocean frontage remains unchanged to the present. It is a study of the general expansive forces and the political considerations which determine the course and direction of the extension of the United States across the North American continent.

"When James K. Polk entered the presidency in 1845, the United States had uncontested claims along the Pacific to only the relatively useless coast between 42° and the Columbia River. During his administration that frontage was broadened to include 1300 miles of shoreline encompassing Juan de Fuca Straight on the north and San Diego Bay to the south. National expansion in the 1840's was in essence not westward at all. It was a northward and southward movement along a coastline, and it is to be understood primarily in terms of specific objectives on that coastline." (Preface.)

Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868. Edited by John Q. Anderson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955. Pp. xxii, 400. Maps on end papers, frontispiece, index. $4.95.)

"*The Journal of Kate Stone* records the Civil War experiences of a sensitive, well-educated, patriotic Southern girl who was twenty years old when the war began and who was living with her widowed mother, five brothers, and younger sister at Brokenburn, their plantation home in northeast Louisiana. Beginning in May 1861, the *Journal* contains regular entries up to November 1865, with briefer sketches written in 1867 and 1868." (Jacket.)

Barton Warren Stone: Early American Advocate of Christian Unity. By William Garrett West. (Nashville: The Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1954. Pp. xvi, 245. Frontispiece, footnotes, bibliography, index. $4.00.)

"Two American Protestant groups count Barton W. Stone among their founders—the Disciples of Christ, now the sixth in number among the Protestant communions of this country, and the Christian churches which became associated in the American Christian Convention and merged in 1931 with the Congregational Churches to form the present communion of Congregational Christian Churches. Outside of these groups, Stone is little

known and his significance in the movement toward Christian unity is not understood or appreciated.

"That is partly because his life was not spectacular except for the circumstances attending his withdrawal from the Presbyterian Church. Even his uniting with Alexander Campbell in 1832 was quietly done while Campbell was still regarding it as matter for theological debate. But it is also because of Stone's lack of self-seeking and his utter dedication to the unity that is in Christ." (Introduction.)

P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray. By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, *Southern Biography Series,* 1954. Pp. xiii, 345. Illustrations, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $4.75.)

"Following First Manassas Beauregard became the hero of the South. The people of the Confederacy saw him through a haze of glory and drama that enveloped no other Southern general. He was chivalric and arrogant in the best Southern tradition, but he was more. Something in his resounding name of P. G. T. Beauregard, in his Creole Louisiana origin, and in his knightly bearing suggested a more exotic environment than the South of Jefferson Davis. When he spoke and when he acted people thought of Paris and Napoleon and Austerlitz and French legions bursting from the St. Bernard Pass onto the plains of Italy." (Jacket.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1954

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. "Tennessee Opinion of the Mexican War as reflected in the State Press," by Billy H. Gilley, Manchester, Tennessee.

FEBRUARY. "Early Days in Hawkins County, Tennessee," by Prentiss Price, of Rogersville.

MARCH. "The History of the Home and Family of Francis Alexander Ramsey," by Mrs. E. L. Bowman, Knoxville. An adaptation of this paper is printed in this issue of the *Publications*.

APRIL. "Professional Athletics in Knoxville during the 1920's," by Boyd Litzinger, a graduate student in the Department of English, University of Tennessee.

MAY. The Society held its annual out-of-Knoxville meeting at Dandridge, on Saturday, May 15. Mrs. Bert Vincent served as chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements. Beginning at 2:30 P. M., a tour of historic sites, led by Mrs. Lloyd Bible and Mr. Clarence Bales, visited the Jefferson County Courthouse, the Billue Blue House, the old Roper Inn, the Revolutionary Graveyard, the Hickman tavern, the Hopewell Presbyterian Church, Maury High School, and the Swann Estates (or Douglass Dam or the Franklin House).

After a delightful reception at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Bert Vincent, the Society met at 6:30 for an informal dinner at the Shepard Inn. President Harold S. Fink presided. After the invocation by the Reverend Donald L. Barker, Mayor H. B. Jarnagin welcomed the Society to Dandridge, and Mr. Alfred Swann told some "Historical Facts about Old Dandridge." Mr. Bert Vincent then introduced the guest speaker, Mrs. James R. (Wilma Dykeman) Stokely, Jr., who delivered a fascinating address, "The Period of the Great Livestock Drives up the Valley of the French Broad," drawn from the material in her book on the French Broad River, to be published in the *Rivers of America* series. About eighty persons attended.

JUNE. "Andrew Jackson and Texas," by Sarah H. Brown, a graduate student at the University of Tennessee.

OCTOBER. In the place of the annual banquet, the Society held an annual meeting and reception in the new auditorium of the Lawson McGhee Library on October 9. Professor William H. Masterson, of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, delivered an address, "The Land Speculator and the West: the Role of William Blount," which is printed in this issue of the *Publications*.

NOVEMBER. "Historic Chester Inn of Jonesboro," by Paul M. Fink, of Jonesboro (also printed in this issue of the *Publications*).

DECEMBER. "The Early Literature of East Tennessee," by Foster Park, a graduate student in the Department of English, University of Tennessee.

At this meeting the following officers were elected for the year 1954: president, Mrs. E. L. Bowman, Knoxville; vice-presidents: Knoxville area, Marshall Wilson; Upper East Tennessee, George W. Anderson, Kingsport; Lower East Tennessee, J. Eugene Lewis, Chattanooga; secretary, Pollyanna Creekmore, Lawson McGhee Library; treasurer, Martha L. Ellison, Lawson McGhee Library; members of the Executive Committee: C. E. Allred, University of Tennessee; I. N. Carr, Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City; Harold S. Fink, University of Tennessee; Laura E. Luttrell, Knoxville; Mrs. James R. Stokely, Jr., Newport. Stanley J. Folmsbee and LeRoy P. Graf, of the University of Tennessee, were re-elected managing editor and associate editor of the *Publications*. W. Niel Franklin, The National Archives, Washington, D. C., and Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, were re-elected to the board of editors for terms of three years.

The McClung Award, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in the Society's *Publications,* was awarded for the year 1954 to Russell L. Stockard, the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, for his "The Election and First Administration of Ben W. Hooper as Governor of Tennessee." The judges were Ralph P. Bieber, Washington University, John H. Franklin, Howard University, and Robert H. Woody, Duke University.

On June 10 the Jefferson and Sevier County chapters of the Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities held impressive ceremonies at Kodak commemorating the signing of the Treaty of Dumplin Creek between the Cherokee Indians and the State of Franklin on June 10, 1785. Dr. Robert H. White, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, delivered the principal address, and Dan M. Robison, chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission, presented a plaque which was unveiled at the ceremonies.

During 1954 Campbell H. Brown, director of highway marking, was engaged in replacing a number of markers erected by the Tennessee Historical Commission in 1923.

At the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Columbia, South Carolina, in November, S. J. Folmsbee, editor of the *Publications,* presided over a session dealing with ante-bellum sectionalism. At the same meeting an invitation to the Association to hold its annual meeting in November, 1955, at Memphis was accepted; and Professor Bell I. Wiley, Emory University, a native of Tennessee, was elected president of the Association.

The Tennessee Historical Society received as a gift the Emil E. Hurja collection of Jacksoniana, which had been considered to be one of the finest collections of Jacksoniana in private hands.

The Nashville Society of Colonial Dames received from John E. Tilford, president of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, the deed to "Travelers Rest," the historic home built by John Overton in 1794.

The History Department of Memphis State College, in cooperation with the Herbert Herff Foundation, inaugurated a series of J. P. Young Lectures in American History with a series of lectures by Claude G. Bowers, "Making Democracy a Reality: Jefferson, Jackson and Polk."

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

William H. Masterson is professor of history at Rice Institute, Houston, Texas.

Elizabeth Scaggs (Mrs. E. L.) Bowman is president of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

Paul M. Fink of Jonesboro, Tennessee, is an acknowledged authority on the history of Jonesboro and Washington County.

Allen J. Going is associate professor of history at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.

Frank B. Williams, Jr., is associate professor of history at East Tennessee State College, Johnson City.

D. C. Corbitt is head of the Department of History and Government, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

Pollyanna Creekmore is assistant in charge of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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